

THE NOTEBOOK OF JOHN PENRY 1593

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	vii
CONTENTS IN NOTEBOOK ORDER	xxvii
THE NOTEBOOK	
I. ANNOTATIONS ON THE SCRIPTURES	I
1. ON <i>MATTHEW, 1 JOHN, 2 JOHN, 3 JOHN, JEREMIAH, ISAIAH</i>	1
2. ON <i>MATTHEW AND GALATIANS</i>	8
3. ON <i>HOSEA</i>	9
4. ON <i>COLOSSIANS</i>	11
5. ON <i>ZĚCHARIAH, ROMANS, COLOSSIANS</i>	12
6. ON <i>2 CORINTHIANS, ROMANS, COLOSSIANS</i>	13
7. 'THE BREACHES OF THE SECOND COMMANDEMENT'	13
8. A NOTE ON <i>HEBREWS</i> III 3-5	14
II THEOLOGICAL	15
1. A STATEMENT OF BELIEF	15
2 THEOLOGICAL NOTES	21
III. THE TRUE CHURCH AND MINISTRY	21
1. THE CALLING OF THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND .	21
2. QUERIES ABOUT THE CHURCH UNDER POPERY	21
3. QUERIES ABOUT A MINISTRY DERIVED FROM POPERY	21
4. THE WORD OF GOD AND NOT THE LAW OF THE LAND TO BE THE AUTHORITY FOR THE MINISTRY	22
5. NOTES ON THE SAME SUBJECT	22
6. AN APOSTATICALL CHURCH WITHIN THE TRUE CHURCH	23
7. APHORISMS ON THE TRUE CHURCH AND NO COMPROMISE	23
IV. THE SEPARATISTS NOT SEDITIOUS	24
V THE CHARGE AGAINST THE PRELATES	31
1. A REPLY TO THE PRELATES	31
2. FRAGMENT	35
VI 'PERSONAL ENTRIES'	35
1. TWELVE REASONS FOR THANKFULNESS	35
2. 'THE GRIEVANCES'	36
3. A ONE-LINE NOTE ABOUT AN APPOINTMENT	36
4. FRAGMENTARY NOTES	36
5. A PRAYER TO HEAVEN	36
6. A CONFESSION AND A RESOLUTION	36

CONTENTS

	PAGE
7 NOTE [TO MRS. PENRY] ABOUT PAPERS	37
8 TORN FRAGMENT	37
9 NOTE [TO MRS. PENRY?] ABOUT SCIPIO BILLET	37
10 FRAGMENTS OF A DIARY, 1592-93	38
VII. PERSONAL LETTERS	40
1. DRAFT OF LETTER TO THE CHURCH	40
2 TO ONE WITH NO DEEPNESS OF EARTH	41
3. DRAFT OF LETTER TO CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN, 19 DEC 1592	41
VIII. A SUPPLICATION AND A PETITION	44
1 A SUPPLICATION OF THE PERSECUTED BROWNIST CHURCH DELIVERED TO PARLIAMENT, 10 MARCH 1593	44
2 PART OF A PETITION TO THE COUNCIL [?], PROBABLY WRITTEN AT THE TIME OF THE SUPPLICATION TO PARLIAMENT, MARCH 1593	47
IX TWO DRAFTS OF LETTER TO RICHARD YOUNG	49
1 FIRST DRAFT, UNDATED	49
2. SECOND DRAFT, 12 MARCH 1592/93	50
X. FRAGMENTS OF APPEALS TO THE QUEEN	52
XI. PETITIONS TO BURGHLEY, ESSEX AND THE COUNCIL	53
1. A LETTER TO BURGHLEY, [MARCH] 1593 TWO DRAFTS	53
2. ANOTHER LETTER TO BURGHLEY	56
3. FOUR DRAFT FRAGMENTS OF LETTERS [TO BURGHLEY?]	60
4. DRAFT OF LETTER TO BURGHLEY	61
5. REVISED DRAFT OF PART OF PREVIOUS LETTER REFERRING TO THE CHARGE OF BEING MARTIN MARPRELATE	69
6. ANOTHER LETTER TO BURGHLEY	71
7. PARAGRAPHS FOR INCORPORATING IN LETTERS TO BURGHLEY	75
8. DRAFT OF LETTER TO THE COUNCIL [?]	77
9 TO THE COUNCIL, OR PERHAPS ADDRESSED TO THE LORD KEEPER	80
10. PARTS OF TWO PETITIONS	84
11. DRAFT OF LETTER TO THE EARL OF ESSEX	85
12 PROBABLE DRAFT FOR INCORPORATING IN ABOVE LETTER TO ESSEX	93
13 BEGINNING OF DRAFT OF LETTER [TO THE EARL OF ESSEX?]	94
14 ANOTHER DRAFT	95
XII. FRAGMENTS OTHER THAN PERSONAL	95
XIII. LOGIC DEFINITIONS	96
INDEX	98

PLATE (between pages 52 and 53)

A page of the open notebook showing two drafts of a letter to Burghley, one in the 'neat', the other in the 'fair copy' hand.

INTRODUCTION

ON 29 May 1593 John Penry, a young Welshman thirty years of age, and 'one of the finest spirits of an age exceptionally rich in spiritual and intellectual achievement',¹ was executed at St. Thomas a Watering, London. The notebook he used during the last months of his life now has its home 6,000 miles away in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The answer to the question how it comes to be there is simple. The Huntington Library purchased the Ellesmere MSS, and Thomas Egerton, the first Baron Ellesmere—in succession master of the rolls, solicitor-general, attorney-general, lord keeper and lord chancellor—was attorney-general at the time of Penry's trial.

Ellesmere MS. 2146 contains the account of Penry's examination on 15 May, an examination which seems to have escaped the notice of biographers and historians. The depositions are signed by William Aubery, Thomas Egerton, Richard Cosin, Edward Coke, Richard Young, and another (probably Thomas Fanshawe, though the signature is difficult to read). Shown various books in print and manuscript, Penry was asked to acknowledge their authorship:

He sayeth that the other booke bounden in florrell conteynunge a collection of dyvers things, havinge these words first written in the first leaffe, viz Jesu Crist dechre a diwed was written by hym within these twoo or three yeares paste, some parte of yt in Scotlande, and some parte in Englande

This clearly identifies the notebook, and makes it probable that the other exhibits described in these depositions may be in the Ellesmere Collection.² The Huntington Library copy of Penry's *Treatise wherein is manifestly proved that Reformation and those that sincerely fauor the same, are unjustly charged to be enemies unto hir Maiestie, and the state* (1590) is the actual copy, judged by the marginal markings, from the preface of which extracts were taken in preparing the case against him. These extracts are collected in Ellesmere MS. 2150b and are incorporated in the record in Coke's *Booke of entrees* (1614).³

Els 2154 contains a half-page of writing only, endorsed on *verso* 'Certeyne wordes of Penryes owt of the book D' It reads:

Penryes Wordes owt of the book D

There are of us allmost fowre score in prison men and women younge and olde in the prisons about London Of which number there were 56 taken the last lordes day being the 4 of March, hearinge the Worde of god trulye taught etc We were taken in the place etc [fo 34 4]

¹ Professor J. Dover Wilson in *The Library* (Oct., 1907), viii 359

² The present writer hopes one day to be able to make a thorough search. At present the best introduction to the Collection, which is rich and varied, is a typescript account by Professor Conyers Read, who was able to make but a hasty survey.

³ 352 *verso*-353 *verso*. See also the copy of the original record (Coram Rege Roll 1325) in C. Burrage, *John Penry, the so-called martyr of Congregationalism*, pp 17-25.

⁴ This is 34 *verso*, 35 *left* in the system of pagination adopted within, for which see below

INTRODUCTION

There are many still abroad. The former holy exercise and profession we purpose not to to [*sic*] leave by the ayde of our god And therefore streames of blood are like to be spilt for this cause except other order be taken etc [fo 35]

Were it not for the hope of a better life it were better for us to be Quene Elizabethes beastes then her subiectes yea her Christian subiectes [fo 18]

It standeth yow in hande to looke unto the dealinge and to see it amended except you wold have every man to imbolden himselfe to doe what his hand hath power to effect in this land [fo 45]

These citations prove conclusively that 'book D' was the notebook. They are not copied *literatim*, but they are all marked in the margin, generally by vertical pencil marks, though in the second instance the marking is a little above the cited lines. There are many other such markings throughout the notebook, all of them drawing attention to passages suitable for use in the indictment. Since it was read for this purpose the notebook does not seem to have been used; several scholars have looked at it, but found the task of transcription and arrangement forbidding even when they recognized its importance.

What brought this young man to his tragic end? His story must be briefly told as a background to the notebook. Long regarded by Welshmen as a national hero and by Congregationalists as one of their martyrs, he has nevertheless waited long for an adequate biography. In 1854 Dr. John Waddington wrote *John Penry, the pilgrim martyr*, valuable in that it used little-known sources, but thoroughly unscientific in its treatment of them. In this, as in all Waddington's work, notably his five-volume *Congregational history*, it is difficult to know whether to be more grateful to him for drawing attention to hitherto unused manuscripts or more irritated by his cavalier way of handling them. Much labour and enthusiasm went to the making of William Pierce's *John Penry. his life times and writings* (1923), and at present it holds the field. In this book, in *The Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (1908) and in his edition of the Tracts (1911) Pierce did praiseworthy work for one not trained as a historian, and students of the period are greatly in his debt. But he was a fiery Welshman; his partisanship was keen, even fierce; and he was particularly happy if he could find anything which would enable him to damn a bishop.

The only other writer who need be mentioned is Champlin Burrage. To the contribution made by him in his *Early English dissenters* (1912) and his *John Penry, the so-called martyr of Congregationalism* (1913) reference will be made from time to time¹. By printing many early documents and passages from rare books Burrage made research easier for those who came after him; but unhappily—and unexpectedly—it has to be recorded that constant use of his work proves he must always be checked, and can rarely be trusted absolutely. He is as biased as Pierce, though in his case the bias arises from the desire to take a new line; and he has the bad habit of using dots in a transcript without indicating what he is omitting, and why; often, in fact, it is to skip a word or sentence difficult to decipher!

With regret it must be said, therefore, that previous writers, even when they have drawn maps and pointed out the road, have sometimes strewn mines and

¹ As *E.E.D.* and *John Penry*

blown the bridges. Not one of them has troubled to explain how copies of the same document, now found in various places, are related to each other: they are to be found in the Lansdowne, Harleian, and Egerton MSS. in the British Museum, in the Ellesmere MSS. at the Huntington, in the Additional MSS. at the Bodleian, and in the Yelverton MSS. at Elvetham Hall. A list of the contents of these various manuscripts relating to Penry's last weeks, showing how they originated and how they are related, which are originals and which copies, will be provided in the edition of Penry's writings now in preparation.

Nor have writers troubled to use the same terminology in referring to a document. Sometimes, indeed, they seem to have done their utmost to make confusion worse confounded. One example only may be given. In *E.E.D.* (ii. 87-93), Burrage prints, apparently from Bodleian Add MS. c. 303. 204-207 *verso*, the Apology sent to Burghley by Penry just before his death (other copies are Lans. 109. 35-6 and Yelverton 70. 182-186 *verso*) under the title 'Apology eiusdem'. He says the manuscript ends abruptly with the words 'much lesse'. Two years later, in *John Penry, the so-called martyr*, he points out he was mistaken, but he adds only another page, and when he reaches, 'I am a poore young man borne and bredd in the mountaynes of Wales', says that this is so familiar that he omits it, without telling the reader that the continuation of the letter (the whole is in Strype, *Whitgift*, iii. 304-13) takes two-and-a-half pages! Pierce, who does not print the apology in full, always calls it 'The Protestation': he takes the trouble to say that the Lansdowne MS. is the original, and adds this note, referring to the Protestation and the covering letter sent with it, which is of importance when we come to discuss the documents in the notebook

[They] are written in a formal secretarial hand, but the above [the covering letter] is signed (your Loidships etc.) by Penry. The Protestation is signed by the scribe 'John Penry', and countersigned by Penry himself. This means that Penry sent both in rough draft to the scribe outside the prison, and received them back again fairly written, and added to each his signature and then despatched them. They were received by Burghley's secretary the same day, as the endorsement shows.

Once the definitive edition of all Penry's known writings in print and manuscript is available many of these difficulties may be cleared up.

John Penry was born in Breconshire, probably on the farm of Cefnbrith, in 1563. His parents seem to have been in comfortable circumstances, and both were living when he went to Cambridge in 1580, his mother and brothers and sisters are mentioned by him as alive in 1593. One of the episcopal mercenaries in the warfare against Martin Marprelate declared that in his youth Penry was an ardent Roman Catholic, and entered Peterhouse 'as arrant a Papist as ever came out of Wales', but no evidence was at any time furnished for this statement, and it may be nothing more than a controversial weapon.

Penry entered Peterhouse as a pensioner in June 1580, the master being the able vicar of Bray, Andrew Perne, and the number of students 154, some of whom thought that the verb *perno*, I turn, was not without reference to their master, as did Martin Marprelate later. In September Penry matriculated, and his easy circumstances may perhaps be gauged from the fact that he paid extra for a 'lower

berth'. In 1584 he graduated B.A., but from August 1584 to October 1585 his name does not appear in the college books. It was, as we learn from his own writings and elsewhere,¹ a lean time, with drought and famine and much sickness. He seems to have spent part of the time at home, and maybe he had already begun to find Northampton, where Eleanor Godley lived, attractive. Perhaps, indeed, it was in these months that he found both his wife and the 'sicklie and weake estate' to which she was to refer in her petition to the Lord Keeper when he was in the Counter in 1593—'he of him selfe being a very weake and sicklie man not hable longe to endure so hard and miserable imprisonment without hazard of his life'. His family circumstances may have deteriorated—'many that lived well and thriftily', he says in the *Æquity*, 'are faine to gue over both house and home, and to go a begging'—and he returned to Cambridge as a fellow commoner. In May 1586 he left for Oxford, perhaps because of the number of Welshmen there, perhaps because his Puritan views had already crystallized, and he had heard of a remarkable Puritan movement stimulated by the visit of ministers from Scotland. There they had been discussing 'the proceeding of the Minister in his duety, without the assistance or tarrying for the Magistrate', and before Penry's arrival it had been reported that many 'young students . . . fauour the cause of reformation'.² The autonomy of the particular church was also debated, and students were urged not to accept an 'uncertain and vague ministry', but to be called to a particular church, and then submit the call to a classis or conference. Perhaps it was thus which led Penry, who had taken his M.A., to refuse to accept ordination as deacon or priest. Wood, in a paragraph³ which hits the target area only now and then, says he took orders and

did preach in Oxon and afterwards in Cambridge, and was esteemed by many a tolerable scholar, an edifying preacher, and a good man, but being a person full of Welsh blood, of a hot restless head, did, upon some discontent, change the course of his life, and became a most notorious Anabaptist (of which party he was in his time the Coryphaeus) and in some sort a Brownist, and the most bitter enemy to the church of England, of any that appear'd in the long reign of Queen Elizabeth

There is little doubt that he preached in Wales too, and also in Northampton, Bancroft including his name as belonging to the classis there in 1587. Penry believed heart and soul in the preaching of the Word, by which alone salvation could come to men. The Puritan insistence on a learned preaching ministry was one of the most effective weapons in their armoury, and no part of the country was worse supplied with preachers than Penry's native land, to which he was passionately devoted. The ignorance and superstition of its people struck him forcibly when he returned from the universities, and he determined to appeal to Parliament to send preachers to them. That is the burden of *The Æquity of an humble supplication*. Of 3,400 graduates since the queen's accession, he says, 400 should have been placed in Wales, but there are only 12. Non-residence is frequent, and preaching rare; for one parish that has a quarterly sermon, twenty have none. Many

¹ Cf. John Udall's *The true remedie against famine and warres*, five sermons 'preached in the time of the dearth in 1586'.

² Bancroft, *Dangerous positions*, pp. 74, 75.

³ *Ath Oxon* (1813), i. 592. He copies most of this from *An Almond for a parrat*.

livings are held by students, 'who never come amongst us, unless it be to fleece' Some laymen have six impropriate livings, and parliament should decree that a tenth of the value of all such should go to the maintenance of a teaching minister

Most of the characteristics of Penry's writings are to be found in this first work, including those which were to bring him to an untimely end. When speaking of the great or to them, he never pulls his punches, and he never hesitates to warn them of their ultimate fate if they fail to obey what he believes to be divine commands. His references to the queen are similar to those quoted against him at his trial, while his method of putting into the mouths of others opinions with which he had some sympathy and then replying to them was part of his defence when his private papers were put in evidence against him.

Here is a typical example of what he himself would call 'matter and manner'.

For what will our children that rise after vs and their children say, when they shal be brought vp in grosse superstition, but that it was not Queene Elizabethes will, that we their Parentes should haue that true religion she professed, made knowne vnto vs. Will not the enemies of Gods truth with vncleane mouthes auouch that shee had little regarde vnto true or false religion anie further than it belonged vnto hir profite? I would some of them did not slaunderously cast abroad amongst our people, that she careth not whether the gospel be preached or not preached. If she did wee also shoulde bee most sure to enioy it after twenty eight yeares and vpward of most prosperous raigne. These thinges derogating from her Maesties honor in a most villanous sort, must be withstoode thorough his selfe and this whole assembly, by making prouision for vs betimes of the food of our soules. Because I see this most notably detracteth from hir, I cannot in duety but repell and gainsay this slander, and with as loud a voice as ynnck and paper can sound, affirme and publish that she would haue the truth made knowne vnto al her people, and wish al of them to be prophets. Neither can it be said that she wil take leisure herein, for that were plainly to say, her Maesty waied not the honor of Iesus Christ, because many a thousand of vs should die before he were known to be a sauour of distressed soules. Shee hath otherwise learned Christ, and therefore knoweth that the Lord must not stae mans leasure when he woulde haue anie thing performed towards his seruice. If one wil not do it, he can finde another whom he wil honour with the deed.¹

He had not yet learnt discretion—and he never did. He never stops to think of consequences or to consider what enemies might make of his words, or to ask how they might look when removed from their context. As yet, he has probably never thought of the possibility of enemies. He believes he has a clear case which only needs to be stated to be convincing: men are dying in their sins, they cannot be saved without preachers; preachers will be forthcoming if the Church is reformed, the queen is God's vice-gerent, and the parliament under her; the situation has only to be made plain to her, and the required action will be taken.

The few years of life remaining were to disillusion him. He was soon to find that he had enemies, and one who was as powerful as he was implacable and relentless. He was to find that words spoken with passionate intensity were turned so that they were capable of a seditious interpretation, but he was never to learn caution; as the petitions in the notebook show, right to the end of his life he was asking for trouble.

Parliament was dissolved on 23 March 1587, and Penry shortened his treatise to get it to them in time. His petition, with the treatise, was presented to the commons by the member for Carmarthen, Edward Dounlee [Dunn Lee], and Job

¹ *Æquity*, pp. 39, 40, 43

Throckmorton apparently spoke in its favour, but there is no indication that it had any effect. Any effect on the supply of preachers for Wales, that is, for the effect on its sponsors was considerable. The queen was affronted by Throckmorton's speech, and on 3 April, knowing that 'th' indignation of the Prince is death' he asked Burghley¹ to intercede with her, pleading his youth and the 'first offender's act'. In the Yelverton MSS² there is a letter from Dounlee to the lord chancellor three years later, when he has been 'put out of the Commission of the Peace'. he asks whether this is for presenting Penry's first book to the parliament, defends the speech he then made and his efforts to secure preaching, and declares he has not seen Penry three times before or since.

The blow did not wait three years to fall on Penry. In 1583 John Whitgift had become archbishop of Canterbury, accepting with alacrity the queen's commission to secure uniformity within the Church. At once Puritan ministers who had sat loosely to the Book of Common Prayer or had been attempting to set up a Presbyterian organization within the Church, found themselves in trouble, though they were supported by nobility and gentry and by a house of commons suspicious of the power of the bishops. Petitions by and for them poured in,³ but Whitgift went on his way unperturbed.

He was *par excellence* the enforcer of uniformity, and on him rests the primary responsibility for Penry's death. Those who objected to his office as having no ground in the Scriptures now came to see in him also the instigator of persecution, in Penry's printed and unprinted works alike he is *the enemy*.

Whitgift's machinery took many forms—there were to be no unauthorized Bibles, services, or preachers, and no deviations from the Book of Common Prayer, there was a new High Commission, with the widest powers, including that of examination by the oath *ex officio*, and he and the bishop of London were to censor all printed matter. The *Æquity* had been duly allowed, but such a detail did not deter the archbishop, 500 copies were seized, and the author apprehended and accused before the High Commission of being 'a factious slanderer of the Government' and a publisher of 'flat treason and heresie', and 'threatned very bloodily, and reuiled vpon is a most vnchristian sorte'. Whitgift was supported by three bishops and other commissioners, but the young man of 24 was not dismayed. Indeed his youth—and that of other Puritans—seems to have been specially irritating, for he was called 'boy, knave, varlet, slanderer, lewde boy, lewde slanderer'. Penry refused to be browbeaten, denied that the advocacy of preaching was heresy, and expressed his resolve to continue it. Looking back on the examination, he makes points similar to those afterwards made in the notebook—that the commission was a group overriding the whole parliament by whom his petition had been accepted, that its procedure was illegal, unjust, and tyrannical, that there was no indictment and a man was questioned at large until evidence against him was obtained⁴—

¹ Lansdowne MSS. 53. 71

² 70 184 *recto* and *verso*. The letter will be printed in full elsewhere.

³ See Peel, *The Seconde parte of a register, passim*. Burghley's protests in 1584, that 'the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions' and that the policy seemed 'a device to seek for offenders rather than to reform any', were turned aside with the rest.

⁴ Is there a case on record of an acquittal by the Court of High Commission?

'ere you depart the court', said Whitgift, 'we will finde sufficient matter to emprison you, and if you refuse the oath, to prison you shall goe'.¹ For twelve days Penry was kept in close prison, with no clear charge against him; it was a month before he was allowed to go free; not yet had come the day when the archbishop could flaunt Parliament.

Undismayed by this first encounter, Penry continued his mission:

I sawe my selfe bounde in conscience, not to giue over my former purpose, in seeking the good of my countrymen, by rooting out of ignorance and blindnes from among them. I know not my daunger in writing these things. I see you my dere and natue countrymen perish. It pitieth me, I come with the rope around my necke to save you. howsoever it goes with me, I labour that you may haue the Gospel preached among you, though it cost me my life, I thinke it wel bestowed. And seeing I seeke nothing hereby, but the glorie of God and your saluation, what deuils will be so shameles as to molest me for this worke, and hunder the word preached.

Now, however, he had to resort to secret printing, and somehow obtained possession of a press. John Udall may have brought him into contact with Robert Waldegrave, who had already been in trouble for printing Puritan books; in April 1588 Penry had just moved copies of his second book from Waldegrave's house when it was searched, and copies of Udall's *Diotrephes* seized. In this book, *An exhortation vnto the gouernours, and people of . . . Wales*, Penry continued the argument of the *Æquity*. Because of their inactivity or their positive opposition to the preaching of that Gospel which alone is able to save his countrymen, the bishops are 'soule-murtherers'. There is no warrant for their office in the New Testament; pluralists themselves, they set an evil example, while, to use the queen's own words, they ordain men 'of such lewd life and corrupt behaviour . . . that be not worthy to come into any honest company'. Nevertheless, Penry deplored controversy—'I have other things to do then to be a contentious man'; he had to attack the bishops for the seriousness of their offence, believing them responsible for the damnation of those who died in ignorance, but he could in no wise approve

the humours of busibodies who, increasing themselves full vnto more ungodlines, thinke nothing so well spoken and written as that which is satyricall and bitingly done against L. Bysh and the rest of that stamp.

Had Penry already seen a Marprelate manuscript, and is this advance criticism, or has it a more general application? At any rate he now shows himself aware of his own danger, realizing that the bishops will endeavour to construe his attack on them as sedition against the State.

He was now living in Northampton, where he married Eleanor Godley on 5 September 1588. Not far away, at Sir Richard Knightley's at Fawsley, Waldegrave and the presses found a temporary home, and there some of Penry's works and the first Marprelate Tracts were printed. At once we are plunged into one of the great mysteries of English literature. The notebook throws a little light upon it, but not a great deal. The identity of Martin baffled his contemporaries, though all Whitgift's sleuths—Bancroft, Sutcliffe, and the rest—did their best, and it hardly seems likely that the secret will be revealed at this time of day. But one or two facts furnished by the notebook may stimulate further research.

¹ Penry's *Appellation* (1589), pp. 42 f. In this book Penry gives an account of his experiences.

The place of the tracts in English literature has now been securely established. For centuries writers who had never read them dismissed them as libels—'lewd', 'scurrilous', 'obscene'. The modern scholar sees in them lively satires, not always to modern taste, which were something new in our language. Remembering that both Thomas Nashe and John Lyly took part in the anti-Martinist campaign, the verdict of Professor Dover Wilson¹ deserves attention:

The honour of this battle of the books belongs, so far as literature is concerned, to Martin. The Marprelate tracts are part of English literature, the answers to them little more than materials for literary history. Qualities of style and not peculiarities of doctrine singled out these from among the countless other puritan tracts that the age produced for the admiration of posterity. Martin's freakish and audacious personality and his unusual vein of satire were something new and not easily forgotten. He was the great prose satirist of the Elizabethan period and may rightly be considered as the forerunner of that much greater satirist whose *Tale of a Tub* was a brilliant attack upon all forms of religious controversy.

It was the publication of the Marprelate Tracts that thoroughly aroused Whitgift and ultimately determined Penry's fate. To be openly defied in speech and writing by a young man was bad enough; now, in spite of all his care to regulate printing, books in criticism of the bishops were still being issued. And such books! One fine morning in October, when the land should still have been talking of the wonderful deliverance from the Armada,² Whitgift woke to find court and people alike laughing at him and his bishops, so cleverly and so mercilessly had they been ridiculed in Martin's first tract, *The Epistle*. Who was its writer? Whitgift clearly thought he was Penry, and evidence accumulated to show that Penry had something to do with the press from which the tracts issued: it published some of his own works, Pierce calls him its 'manager' and 'Marprelate's press-reader', and Sharpe, the bookbinder who turned informer, said he saw proof-sheets of *The Epistle* in Penry's hands.³ Sutcliffe decided⁴ that 'John Penry, John Udall, John Fielde; all Johns; and Job Throckmorton: all concurred in making Martin'. Field, the mind behind the collection of the Puritan corpus, *A parte of a register* and *The Seconde parte of a register*, had died early in the year; the tracts could not be fathered on Udall, the author of *The Demonstration of discipline* and *Diotrephes*, though he was kept in prison until his death. But there was Penry, and not far from him lived Throckmorton, the young M.P. who had supported his petition to Parliament, one known

¹ Professor Dover Wilson has done the soundest work on the Tracts, his chapter in the *C.H.E.L.*, from which these words are quoted, being masterly; his articles in *The Library*, notably *Martin Marprelate and Shakespeare's Fluellen* (1912, reprinted separately), where he sets forth a new theory of the authorship, are indispensable for students. So also are W. Pierce, *Historical introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (1908) and *The Marprelate Tracts* (text, 1911). Arber's *Introductory sketch* prints many of the relevant documents. R. B. McKerrow's pages on 'The Marprelate controversy' and 'Note on the Martinist Press' in his edition of Nashe's works (v pp 34-65, 184-92) should also be studied.

² A study of these dates in 1588 is suggestive.

July 19-28	Armada dispersed	Oct. 15	<i>The Epistle</i>
Sep 4	Death of Leicester	Nov. 10	Williams returns to England
" 5	Marriage of Penry	" 15	Queen attends <i>Te Deum</i> at St. Paul's
Oct 9	Williams goes to Netherlands	" 29	<i>The Epitome</i>

³ See Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, p 94.

⁴ *An Answer to Job Throckmorton*, 70 verso.

INTRODUCTION

to have Puritan opinions and a clever tongue to boot. Then and since other names were mentioned, for long panegyrists hastened to disclaim all connexion with them for their heroes, now there is a desire to requisition them. H. M. Dexter's claim for Barrow cannot be sustained; Pierce, who was best qualified to judge, decided on a combination of Penry and Throckmorton. Professor Dover Wilson has put forward a new candidate, Sir Roger Williams, the soldier, Shakespeare Fluellen. His case, so far examined only by Pierce and McKerrow (*The Libell*, 1912, pp. 345-374), thus divides responsibility. *The Epistle*, *The Epitome* and *Hay any worke for Cooper*? go to Williams, Throckmorton, and perhaps Penry had a hand with him in *The Mineralls*, the Theses in *Martin Junior* were his, Penry writing the prologue and epilogue, Job Throckmorton wrote *Martin Senior*, and the Epistle to the (captured and unpublished) *More worke*, the body of which was written by Williams, the final Tract, *The Protestation*, was divided, Penry writing pp. 1-14, Throckmorton pp. 15-32. The parallel *M. Some laid open* was also the work of Throckmorton, though Williams was responsible for the preface and title.

The theory is ingenious, and there is much to be said for it, though in place it is unconvincing. Especially so is the suggestion that one writer took over from another at the end of a page in *The Protestation* at a point where the first part of a paragraph would refer to the one who was married and its continuation to the one still single. This is altogether too subtle, and complicates a problem already sufficiently tangled. Sutcliffe declared¹ Throckmorton was 'a Principal Agent', but Throckmorton put on record,² 'I am not Martin, I knewe not Martin. And concerning that I stande enrichted of, I am as cleare as the childe vnborne'. Thomas Nashe thus suggested his opinion³:

Who had the ouersight of the Libell at Fawshe? *John* of Wales. Who was corrector to the Presse at Couentrie? *John* of Wales. Who wrote the last treatise of Reformation so full of slaunders, but *John* of Wales?

Penry denied that *he* was Martin, but, as will be seen, his association with the production of the tracts led to a pursuit which lasted four years, at last laid him by the heels, and brought about his death. This is clear from Penry's reply to Burghley's statement that he was accused of the authorship, a fact apparently never openly mentioned at the trial. In considering what Penry says (pp. 62-66, 69-71) it has to be remembered that if the Puritans were not as astute as Professor Dover Wilson suggests, they nevertheless used every means they deemed legitimate to escape their adversaries. Penry was no doubt justified in claiming (p. 65) that in all his writing he never told a lie, but he and his friends were very careful in their admissions: they told the truth, but they told no more of it than was necessary, and they refused to take the oath lest they might incriminate themselves as well as implicate others.

Penry tells Burghley that his name is John Penry, not Martin Marprelate, and asks to be put on trial on the charge. If he is Martin, why was Throckmorton indicted? He neither knows the contents of all the tracts, nor where to get them, and those he read he read so cursorily that he 'greatly heeded them not' (yet he points out the differences between his teaching and theirs, and mentions points

¹ *An Answer*, 70 verso.

² *The Defence of Job Throckmorton*, E. 11 recto.

³ *The First parte of Pasquils apologie*, B. 2 v. (McKerrow, 1. 115).

where he has come to agree with them). He disclaimed and disliked them when they were issued, even when it was reported they were in favour at Court and that Essex or Sir Robert Cecil had written them 'unseemly iestes, uncomly rayling I allow not'. He has written against the bishops in books bearing his name as vehemently as Martin did; why then are Martin's words used against him when his own are available? He is cleared by Martin's statement that he was unmarried, for he (Penry) was married before even there was a Martin. To imprison a thousand Penrys would not stop Martin, the bishops would be well advised to let Martin die, or stop dead. Furthermore, though he no longer agrees with Throckmorton's views, he must clear him from the charge of being Martin. When visiting Throckmorton he did not take the early tracts to him; Throckmorton had never seen them and did not know whom to suspect for writer.

So far the notebook. Where does it all lead, and how does it affect Professor Dover Wilson's theory? Can it be that Penry and Throckmorton would deny they were Martin if all the time they were Martin Junior and Martin Senior respectively? It is possible, though scarcely likely. The reference to marriage in *The Protestation* quoted by Penry may be thought to support the theory of deliberate mystification; but there seems to be no reason why one man should not have written the whole Tract—and if so, the writer could not be Penry. There is a much greater difficulty in Penry's statement about his lack of knowledge of the contents of the tracts (discounted somewhat by the comparison with his own writings) remembering the evidence of Sharpe, that Penry was to all intents and purposes the producer of the tracts, and that he saw him correcting the proofs of *The Epistle*. Was Penry here again telling the truth, but not all of it? It might be that there were some of the tracts which he had not seen—perhaps he had taken care not to see—or had only glanced at.

The relation of Penry to the Marprelate press has never been made clear. Why the disguise, and the use of the Anglicized form of his name, Harrison? Was he earning his living by acting as proof-corrector because this fitted in with his keen desire to get his own works published? Or was there some great man behind the whole business? Who was the nobleman who told Penry¹ that if he were discovered he would be kept out of the clutches of the High Commission, brought before another tribunal and speedily set free?² And in relation to what was this undertaking given? Was it Leicester, who died before even the first tract was published, and did his death 'upset the whole apple-cart'? The association of the names of Essex and Sir Robert Cecil with the tracts is worth noting. Does that of Essex point to Sir Roger Williams, who was on terms of such intimacy that on his death in 1595 he left all his personal property to Essex? Was the earl, as Professor Dover Wilson suggests, one of the channels of communication between the Martinist group, perhaps even the 'friend at Cambridge' to whom the 'Oxford man' directed *M. Some laid open*? Did he not,³ when the royal proclamation against the printers and dispersers of the tracts was issued, pull one of them out of his pocket and ask the queen, 'Why, then, what will become of me?'

But is it credible that, so intimately connected with the Press as they were, Penry and Throckmorton did not know Martin? It may well be so. Rarely can

¹ See Arber, 117.

² This seems to be the method by which Throckmorton escaped.

³ See *Harleian Miscellany* (1808), 1, 219.

secret have been so well kept. At his trial 7 July 1590, Udall, who said Penry had denied he was Martin, declared¹:

But for 'Martin', and the rest of those Books that you have named, they were never approved by the Godly learned: and I am fully perswaded, that those Books were not done by any Minister, and I think there is never a minister in this land, that doth know who 'Martin' is And I for my part, have been inquisitive, but I could never learn who he is

And what may or may not be hidden in the advice Martin Senior gives to his Junior²:

Be silent and close, hear many, confer with few And in this point do as I do, know not thy father, though thou mayest For I tell thee, if I should meet him in the street, I should never ask him blessing Walk smoothly and circumspectly, if any offer to talk with thee of Martin, talk thou straight of the voyage into Portugal, or, of the happy death of the Duke of Guise, or some such accident The reason why we must not know our father is that I fear some of us might fall into John Canterbury's hand, and then he'll threaten us with the rack, unless we bewray all that we know And what get we then by our knowledge? For I had rather be ignorant of that'll do me good than know that'll hurt me, quoth Mr Martin Senior .?

It must be remembered that much of the evidence incriminating Penry and Throckmorton was either extorted by racking the printers or secured through Sharpe, and also that the Martinists did all they could to cover their tracks.

Sir Roger Williams was a great soldier and a master of the art of war, and he would enjoy planning the strategy of a campaign such as Martin's. On the whole, the notebook furnishes no evidence against Professor Dover Wilson's theory, and rather tends to support it. What is now needed is a thorough study and collation of all the known writings of Penry, Throckmorton, Williams, and Martin. The pieces of the puzzle are fitting together here and there, but some of them are obviously missing. If, for example, the precise relationship of Penry to the Marprelate Press could be discovered, or if it could be ascertained whether the two Welshmen had any contact in Wales—their homes were not far apart—it is possible that the whole might fall into place. But the notebook still leaves us asking more questions than we can answer.

The battle was joined, and it would be hard to say which of the two protagonists was the more active: they must be put on the same level, for it is abundantly clear that Whitgift regarded Penry as the head and front of the offending. Even before the second Martin saw the light the queen had ordered the High Commission to search for the 'author and abettors' of the first, and the archbishop

personally directed the search and pushed the powers of the high commission court to the extreme limits in order first to obtain evidence against suspected persons, and then to secure their punishment. In his examination of prisoners he shewed a brutal insolence which is alien to all modern conceptions of justice or religion. He invariably argued for the severest penalties³.

Waldegrave's house was rifled in November, and on 29 January 1589 Penry's study at Northampton was ransacked. He described this in *Th' Appellation*, written on 7 March, but not published until after *A viewe . . . of such publike wantes . . . in Wales*, generally known as *The Supplication*. These books show

¹ *State Trials* (Cobbett, 1809), 1 1273, 1294.

² Pierce, *Marprelate Tracts*, pp 380-1

³ Sidney Lee in *D N B*

that his views, while still Presbyterian, were sharpening, and their incisiveness prepared the way for his condemnation: he insists on the primacy of Christ in the Church, argues that reformation is long overdue, but recognizes that 'the generall voyce . . . [is that it] cannot be taken in hand, without the high and heauie displeasure of her Maestie'. But the queen has been deceived by the bishops, who have made her believe that 'the endeouour of reforming religion is nothing else but a newfangled and seditious attempt, proceeding from the factious and discontented braines' of men who are their country's enemies. Parliament should disabuse her, and remove the bishops, whose offices are popish, and protect those whom they persecute and imprison. So the Church will be purified and the land strengthened against external enemies.

Penry's pen and the fugitive press, or the archbishop and his pursuivants—which would win? More tracts come from Martin, whoever he might be, the press moves hither and thither, now minus the expert printer Waldegrave, who escaped to Rochelle; Penry 'lurked here and there like a fox' until at last, when the press had been seized in Manchester and the printers were being tortured, he fled to Scotland (October). There he received much kindness, as he reminded his children—two of them were born there—in his farewell letter. The ministers especially welcomed him, he had opportunities to preach and to write, and his ready pen was soon active, first answering Bancroft's defence of episcopacy, in which the Church of Scotland had been attacked, and then writing *Reformation no enemy . . . unto hir Maestie and the State* (1590). These were printed by Waldegrave, who had now become king's printer and remained so despite protests from England. In *Reformation no enemy* Penry reiterated his loyalty to the queen, mentioning the warrant issued against him the previous August. The English government frequently complained of the protection given to him, and at last James authorized a writ of banishment, but the ministers seem to have shielded him, and he remained altogether three years, though he probably visited London and Northampton in 1591.

To this period of comparative peace probably belong the Scripture annotations in the notebook: they are much neater and more regular than the rest of the entries. He also translated the *Propositions* of the Genevan professors, and corresponded with Throckmorton, some of his letters being intercepted by Bancroft's minions. Absence of any printed work of his in 1591 and 1592 is perhaps an indication that his views on church government were changing: there is evidence that he discussed with the ministers the rights of individual members of the Church, and maybe he came to the conclusion that 'New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large', though he could scarcely say so as long as he and his family remained guests overwhelmed with personal kindness. The writings of Barrow and Greenwood no doubt found their way to Edinburgh, and they may have been responsible for his conversion. Be that as it may, when, in September 1592, he could no longer resist the call to make another attempt to help his countrymen in Wales, it is as an Independent that he comes south, and at once on arrival in London attaches himself to the congregation with which Barrow and Greenwood were associated. They themselves had been in prison for the best part of six years—the records of their examination in 1586 are still extant—but nevertheless they managed to propagate

their views and to build up the congregation, of which Francis Johnson, a Cambridge contemporary of Penry's, was minister. Barrow had had some controversy with Penry, and he disapproved of Martin's buffoonery; until convinced by Penry's sincerity and zeal, he would regard with surprise and suspicion the accession to the church of one who had been so outspoken a Presbyterian.

The congregation met in secret in different parts of London, sometimes in private houses such as those of Roger Rippon and Nicholas Lee, often in the woods at Deptford or Islington. This is not the place to describe its organization or outline its history, most of its members were as familiar with the inside of London's prisons as with their own homes. The depositions of those taken in March 1593—what seem to be the originals are in the Huntington Library—furnish information about Penry's activity among them. Some of the services were held in his home, and Christopher Bowman, a deacon of the church, was married there. He declined to accept any ministerial office, but frequently preached.

But a few weeks of freedom, a few months of life, were left to him. The fragments of diary in the notebook increase our knowledge of how they were spent. John Edwardes, who accompanied him from Scotland, deposed that after arrival in London,¹ he saw him 'no more vntill a little before Christmas . . . at a garden house at the dukes place near Allgate, where Penryn did preach and (as he doth remember) Grenewood did preache there also'.

If Edwardes remembered correctly, this can only have been on 3 December, for during the night of the 5th Greenwood and Francis Johnson were arrested at Edward Boys's house. Penry and Edwardes left London for Reading on the 14th (p. 38), and on the 19th Edwardes was despatched to Chester with the letter to Christopher Goodman (p. 44). He can scarcely have been in London by the next Sunday (the 24th), and there is no evidence that Penry returned there after Smith left him on the 23rd. How did he spend his time between Christmas and February? In visiting those of Newbury he had failed to convince, or Independents farther west (Smith, who was a minister, came from Bradford, Wilts²), or his home and his native land? London would be pulling him all the time, for about the turn of the year his fourth daughter was born. Whatever he was doing, the officers of the law were busy, on 17 December the meeting-place of the congregation was raided, and the officers of the church seized. On 5 January the church petitioned the privy council,³ describing the hard lot of its ministers and members in prison. Pierce attributes this petition to Penry, but on insufficient grounds, and there is no evidence that Penry was back in London before February. When he did return, however, his pen was at the disposal of the congregation, he wrote the *Answer to fifteen slanderous articles*,⁴ and during the next weeks the notebook was in constant use. From the diary-fragments it is possible to form some sort of sequence, but the paucity of dates, the fact that it is not clear whether the church is meeting once or twice a week, and also that Mr. Johnson may be Francis or his father or his brother make precision difficult. First, the family is complete, perhaps for the first and only

¹ *EED*, II, 57-8. He says November. This is either a mishearing or a miscopying. Penry says September, and it is clear he was in London in that month.

² See Burrage, *EED*, II, 41-2, 58-9.

³ Printed in Strype, *Annals*, IV 131-6.

⁴ In Burrage, *EED*, II 66-79.

INTRODUCTION

time, for ' Jones ¹ brought Deliverance ' (p. 39), the eldest child, on 15 February. The next day Roger Rippon, one of the most steadfast of the congregation's members, died in Newgate, and his coffin, bearing this inscription,² was carried to Mr. Justice Young's door.

This is the Corps of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her majesty's faithfull subject, who is the last of 16 or 17 which that great ennemye of god the Archb of Canterbury, with the high Commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within thess 5 yeares for the testimony of Jesus chryst His soule is now with the Lord and his bloud cryeth for speddy vengeance agaynst that great ennemye of the saintes and agaynst Mr Richd Younge who in this and many the like poyntes hath abused his power for the upholding of the Romyshe Antechrist, prelacy and priesthoode

Richard Young was a notorious figure.³ A J.P. for the county of Middlesex, he was ' customer ' or ' packer ', at the customs house, and he was frequently employed in the examination and trial of ecclesiastical dissidents. The State Papers and the *Acts of the Privy Council* contain scores of references to him; he seems to have been one of the main instruments of the council when torture was used, and he was hated and detested for his cruelty by Catholics and Puritans alike. The hierarchy which brought Barrow, Greenwood and Penry to the scaffold consisted of Whitgift, Bancroft, and Young, and the coffin incident was an affront to them all. Its reaction was immediate. Many of the congregation were at once seized, and attempts to capture the rest redoubled. All who were taken were asked whether they had anything to do with the coffin and its inscription. Once—on a weekday probably—the church was not able to meet (p. 39), and a stream of appeals and petitions began to flow to parliament and the council. On 25 February the congregation met, but the following Sunday, 4 March, the diary reads ' The church taken, yet I escaped '—as ' John Harrison ', though he does not say so. At once he set to work on the Supplication to the Parliament, the draft of which is in the notebook (pp. 45-7) and to write to Burghley (pp. 53-6) and to Young (pp. 49-52), who had ' evell handled ' Mrs. Lee. Mrs Penry is said to have presented one petition, and it is natural to suppose that she is the maltreated mother with the sucking child to whom reference is made. But Mrs. Lee had children, and there were other women in the congregation, and certainty is impossible, with relevant manuscripts inaccessible.

On 22 March, the day after Barrow and Greenwood were charged, Penry ventured back to London, and was captured, with George Kniveton and Arthur Billet. He was brought before Young on the 24th and 26th, and had sundry conferences with ministers. If he still had hopes of a fair trial, they would be dashed when he heard on 6 April that Barrow and Greenwood had been executed. On that date he wrote a farewell letter to his wife, on the roth one to his four daughters, the eldest of them not yet 4 years old, the babe but a few weeks, and on the 24th one to the church.⁴ On 10 April he was examined by the commissioners, one of whom

¹ Jenkin Jones, a kinsman, who was mixed up with the Marprelate business

² Lans MSS lxvii 27. Endorsed ' Feb 1592, Roger Rippon dyed in Newgat '

³ A monograph on him is in preparation

⁴ There are few more poignant letters in English than these. There were contemporary printings of those to Mrs Penry and the church, but that to the children has never been printed in full (in part in Waddington). It has now been transcribed and will appear with the other two in the edition of Penry's works. Perhaps I may be allowed to refer to my *The Christian basis of democracy* (1943), one of the lectures in which deals with Penry and quotes from the letters.

was Thomas Fanshawe, father of a Cambridge contemporary. Penry's report of the examination is still extant. It must have been written in prison, and so must the three letters. There is room for research on Elizabethan prison-writing. That Barrow and Greenwood not only wrote in prison,¹ but managed to smuggle out copy to the printers is known. To his children Penry says:

I have written this in that scarcity of paper, incke and tyme, that I could doe it noe otherwise, then first it came into my mynde,

and to his wife:

Let it not be knowne unto anie save unto the party that shall read this unto you that I have written at all as yet I gote meanes this day to writte wherof no creature lyving knoweth

Was the notebook actually used in prison? It is hard to say, for the drafts of all the petitions may have been written before the arrest on 22 March, and no subsequent date appears in its pages. If the book were in Penry's possession when he was taken, he would probably not see it again except as an exhibit at the trial. If it were seized afterwards, it may have been secreted by his wife and others on their visits, when he might have scribbled notes in it—the fragments about Scipio Bellot and Mr. Ley and the 'bundells of papers' rather give this impression.

For the story of Penry's last days readers must be referred to the text, and to Pierce's narrative, which is on the whole sound and reliable. Penry struggled gamely, frequently writing to Burghley, and apparently seeing him once; Burghley recommended him to write to the queen, and twice in the notebook he started to do so. But the odds were against him, and he had no chance from the beginning. There has been controversy about the legality of his trial, but Burrage² is the only modern who has tried to defend it. To him Pierce made a convincing answer, and the unbiased student will agree with Professor Dover Wilson's verdict that he 'was hanged on a trumped up charge of treason, thus paying with his life for the part he had taken in the Marprelate controversy'. Ostensibly this was not part of the indictment—so far as we know it was not mentioned in the trial—but Burghley's mention of it to Penry showed where the shoe pinched. The main evidence produced in the trial was that of the notebook and other private and unprinted papers, in which Penry had spoken with even more than his usual freedom about the queen and her relation to the church. These and the suspicion that he was Marprelate together made the issue certain.

Penry occupied his last days in writing his confession of faith and protestation of allegiance, together with letters to Burghley,³ to whom he wrote on 28 May, the day before his death. They state his position with force and even eloquence, and prove that he maintained his stand to the end. In the next century a story was current—apparently on the authority of Arthur Hildersham, an aristocratic Presbyterian divine who had engaged in controversy with the Brownists—that he repented of the course he had taken. No evidence is adduced (a similar story was told about Barrow) and there is nothing in the notebook or elsewhere to give credence

¹ There is a reference to 'Mr Henry Barrowes study in the Flette' in Studley's evidence in the Egerton Papers, 175

² *John Penry*

³ The Confession was printed at the time. But see Burrage, *EED*, II 79-96, bearing in mind the warning above, p. viii.

to it. Penry had risked his life in a cause he deemed to be righteous, he had many times declared himself ready to lose it, and lose it he did; not even his affection for his wife and little girls could tempt him one step from his course, and he enjoined them all¹ to be faithful to their father's church at all costs. That he warns them of their ultimate destiny if they fail is characteristic. The queen and Burghley, Whitgift and Essex, received the same kind of warning, even of threat. Resolute to the end, zealous, faithful if foolhardy, he went to his death, his character all of one piece, his personality rich and colourful.

Does the notebook throw light on the other main actors? *Whitgift* stands out, too, as a forceful personality. He pursued the young Welshman to the bitter end; his is the first signature on the order for execution, which was expedited and carried out in comparative secrecy lest parliament or powerful friends should intervene. There is no need to regard the archbishop as the embodiment of all evil, as Penry and the Puritans did². He loved power and delighted to use it, he was indeed their great enemy, but no doubt, like other persecutors before him, he believed he was doing God service; uniformly he regarded as a necessity for the State, and therefore all dissidents were seditious traitors. That he had a one-track mind and no sense of humour was his misfortune. That the Puritans disapproved of his office, opposed his policy, and ridiculed his person kept alive his resentment; but that he was as sure he was doing right as was his youthful antagonist there is little doubt.

Burghley remains an enigmatic figure. He gave the Puritans much support—he is said to have helped hundreds—and it is clear that Penry counted on his protection. But sometimes he was critical—one of Barrow's examinations furnishes a notable instance—and he failed them at the pinch. To him the danger to the State came from the Catholic side, and Elizabeth therefore needed all the Protestant support she could get. But if ecclesiastical strife weakened the country against the external enemy it must be quelled, and therefore there were limits to his tolerance and help. No doubt he would have saved Penry if he could. Perhaps he intended to do so. But Whitgift was too quick for him, and no doubt enjoyed scoring off 'the old fox'. Thomas Phelippes, writing³ on 7 April, said the reprieve of Barrow and Greenwood had been due to Burghley, who

spoke sharply to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was very peremptory, and also to the Bishop of Worcester, and wished to speak to the Queen, but none seconded him. The executions proceeded through the malice of the bishops to the Lower House [which had insisted on modifying the Bill against the Brownists]

How much did *Elizabeth* know of the existence and sufferings of the Protestants of the left? It is unlikely that so astute and well-informed a monarch would be ignorant about them, though it is improbable that she understood their views. They were a nuisance, maybe even a danger, and therefore they must be suppressed.

¹ The letter to the children, written for when they came to years of discretion, is amusing as well as pathetic—he even advises them how they should give themselves in matrimony.

² 'No Bishoppe that ever had suche an aspiring and ambitious a minde as he, no not *Cardinal Wolsey* none so proud as he, no not *Steuens Gardiner of Winchester*, none so tyrannical as he, noe, not *Bonner*' (*Dialogue wherin is plainly laide open*, D. 3 recto)

³ S.P.D., Elizabeth, ccxlv 124

It never ceases to cause surprise that Puritans and Independents always seem to have believed that if they could but get access to the queen and correct the impression the bishops had given her, she would be on their side¹. It must, however, have been hard for her to see how subjects who believed there were spheres in which the royal writ did not run were not seditious or something like it. A queen who told her parliaments so clearly where their duties began and ended was not likely to be patient with enthusiasts who might easily become disturbers of the State she had done so much to weld into a unity. And to be told that she must take a place in the Church subordinate to the Word of God, and even to God's ministers, her subjects, would sound preposterous, and even treasonable, to ears accustomed for thirty years to adulation and flattery. There is a story, of doubtful authority, that she lamented that loyal subjects like Barrow and Greenwood had been put to death, but she made no attempt to save Penry. And once she knew his opinions about her failure to reform the Church, once she read his outspoken utterances about her power and her policy—and Whitgift would make sure she did—she would not be disposed to stretch out a hand to save him. And when she observed the constant reiteration that according to the Word of God the queen *must* do this, and *must not* do that, she must have found it irritating indeed. An imperious lady, accustomed to but never surfeited by flattery, must have been considerably irked when one of her subjects, a young man of thirty, with no standing and no political experience, dared to write, 'Oh, Queen Elizabeth, spare the Church of God, and know yourself to be but mortal woman', or declared².

Your standinge then (Madame) being vpon that state which is vphelde by the treadinge vnder foote of the Lordes truthe, is daungerous and lykelye to come to ruine. And I cannot but in conscience admonish yow thereof

Re-arrangement of the items in the notebook was necessary, for it was used literally as a book for making notes. Some of the items were written with the pages upside down, others do not run concurrently from page to page, others overlap a note previously written. The classification is tentative, for items overlap the sections, but it suggests all Penry's major interests, except perhaps his love for Wales. There is his reliance on the Bible as the supreme authority for the individual and the Church—and how well acquainted with it he shows himself! There is the identification of the Roman Church with Babylon which must be destroyed, because she has usurped the place of Christ and wars against His saints. There is antagonism to the Church of England because she retains the 'relics of Popery', including episcopacy, for which there is no warrant in the Word. There is belief in preaching, the only means of salvation, and therefore in a learned, preaching ministry. There are proposals to despoil the Church of its wealth, but, in the notebook stage, no longer to maintain the ministry therewith, for that is the duty of the faithful. There are glimpses of his learning and of his intense activity in a public life which lasted but half-a-dozen years; and the whole is shot through by his deep affection for the Church and by his uncompromising adherence to what he deemed to be his mission.

Little need be said about style. Penry's vocabulary was that of the Bible, and he never sought after literary form. But with the Geneva Bible and deep

¹ See above, p. xviii.

² Burrage, *John Penry*, 20

convictions combined, even in a notebook he often becomes eloquent when he pleads for justice and freedom

Alas, my Lord, where live we ? In what commonwealth ? Where tyrannous Anarchy possesseth all things, or the liberty of free subjects do remain ?

Three different hands are used The first is small and neat ; the second larger and often ragged, and the third, fair copies of several items, a 'free' hand like the others, but with some letters in 'secretarial' form. It is difficult to describe them, for technical terms might mislead : they are referred to as the neat, the loose, and the fair copy hands. References to 'Penry's man' or 'Penry's scribe' [cf p ix, above] suggest that the fair copies might be the work of another writer, but experts rule that Penry may have used all three forms.

Often the writing is small, annoyingly so sometimes, as in the diary, when legibility would have been specially welcome, here it is that Welsh sentences appear, a Welsh word in Greek letters, and a name in Hebrew letters

The task of transcription has not been easy. In writing notes for one's own use less care is taken than in writing to and for others. From the writing itself it can almost be deduced which pages belong to the refuge in Scotland Most of the items clearly date from March 1593, the hectic days after the coffin episode, when the search for the congregation and its members was intensified, when Penry had himself been seen in London, and the scent was keen. the majority of the drafts to Burghley and the council can probably be placed between 4 March and 22 March, the escape and the final capture.

Wherever the book was used, in prison or when the writer was being hunted 'frome poste to piller', copperplate is not to be expected Often letters are omitted it would be unwise, e.g., to dogmatize whether Penry wrote 'cause' or 'case', 'dobt' or 'doubt', 'desire' or 'desier'. To the lack of uniformity in spelling which Penry shared with his contemporaries is added the ambiguity of hand-written notes ; in 'to dye this daye', e.g., 'dye' and 'daye' are exactly alike, often only familiarity gives confidence in deciphering words. Final 'c' or 'ce', 'g' and 'ge', 's' and 'es' are used arbitrarily. The usual abbreviations for 'm', 'n', 'er', 'majesty', etc., are employed, and the superior 'r' in 'yours', etc. All superior letters have been brought down in printing and the ampersands run out. A square bracket always indicates editorial matter, a queried reading, the supply of a word obviously omitted, or an addition for clarity's sake, as 'mad[e]' for the text's 'mad', or 'quit[e]' for 'quit'.

There is much correction and cancellation ; wherever possible the deleted words are given. Where a note to 'his' reads 'For "the"' it means 'the' is crossed out and 'his' immediately substituted.

Does the notebook suggest ways by which other documents could be identified as Penry's ? He would be a rash man who would claim to identify the writer of an Elizabethan manuscript by spelling alone, but Penry has sufficient idiosyncrasies to give reasonable confidence. One or two only of these would leave room for hesitation, and even 'relligion', 'agaynst' and 'exept' found together. But if in addition to these a document expressing opinions akin to Penry's had 'ame' for 'am', 'frome' for 'from', 'one' for 'on', 'their' andwheir' for 'there'

and 'where', 'reaceved', 'soveraign', 'vouchaf', and 'posterytyes', there would be good grounds for attributing it to Penry. An argument that the fair copy items were written by a scribe is that some of these forms disappear.

The notebook is paged throughout—1 to 73, the 73 being an error for 72; the numbers are in the top left-hand corner of the right-hand page. To make reference easy the two first pages are called '1 *left*' and '1 *right*'—i.e., what would normally be called 1 *verso* is 2 *left*—and so throughout.

I have to thank the Librarian and Trustees of the Huntington Library for permission to print the notebook, and the Library and staff for efficient help during my visits. The staff of the British Museum has been courteous, as is their reputation to Dr. H. Idris Bell and Mr. A. J. Collins of the Department of Manuscripts and Mr. Charles Drew of the Record Office I am indebted for assistance in reading some passages, Dr. Bell was specially useful with the Welsh entries, where I was also able to draw on the knowledge of Sir John E. Lloyd.

The Rockefeller Foundation made me a grant for the purchase of photostats, etc., and the Sir Halley Stewart Trustees are enabling me to prepare the definitive edition of the writings of Penry and other early Independents—Browne, Harrison, Barrow and Greenwood—which scholars have so long desired.

It must be said that the work has been greatly handicapped by war-time conditions. The rare books and manuscripts at the British Museum and the Bodleian have been inaccessible while it has been in progress: reference to, and collation with, them would have settled many doubtful points and sometimes enabled us to say whether Penry used the draft of an item in the notebook or revised it before despatch. Not only so, but even the Huntington Library felt it wise to remove its treasures further inland, so that in recent months reference to them in person or by proxy has been impossible. Fortunately, however, I had copied many of the relevant Ellesmere Manuscripts in 1940 and 1942 and secured a photostat of the notebook before it was sent away. Nevertheless, there are many points where I am sadly aware that details should have been further checked, and therefore I must express regret for imperfections which in happier times might have been avoided.

Dr A. J. Grieve, who edited Penry's *Æquity* and is as well acquainted with his writings as any living scholar, has been good enough to read the proofs and make many useful suggestions, and the joint literary director of the Royal Historical Society, Mr. A. V. Judges, has been as patient and helpful in the production of a difficult job as the printers have been fertile in their resourcefulness.

Postscript

Since the Introduction was written Mr. Donald J. McGinn's 'The real Martin Marprelate', a reprint of an article in *PMLA* (vol. lviii, pp. 84-107, March 1943), the journal of the Modern Language Association of America, has come to hand. Mr. McGinn believes that Penry was the author of the Tracts, and most of his article is devoted to rebutting Sutcliffe's contention that Throckmorton was Martin. Professor Dover Wilson's suggestion of Sir Roger Williams is mentioned, but dismissed in a sentence. Had Mr. McGinn seen the notebook, his article could scarcely have seen the light in its present form.

CONTENTS IN NOTEBOOK ORDER

<i>Page of Notebook</i>		<i>Page within</i>
1 <i>left</i> (i)	Twelve reasons for thankfulness	35
(ii).	Latin note <i>re</i> Pius I	95
(iii)	'The grievances'	36
(rev)	Draft of beginning of letter [to the earl of Essex ?]	95
1 <i>right</i> -3 <i>right</i>	Scripture annotations Jesus Christ dechre a diwed On <i>Matthew</i> , 1 <i>John</i> , 2 <i>John</i> , 3 <i>John</i> , <i>Jeremiah</i> , <i>Isaiah</i>	1
4 <i>l</i>	'The breaches of the second commandment'	13
4 <i>r.</i> (i)	A one-line note about an appointment	36
4 <i>r.</i> (ii).	Draft of letter to the Church	40
5 <i>l</i> .	The calling of the ministry of the Church of England .	21
5 <i>r.</i>	Draft of letter to the Church	40
6 <i>l</i> -12 <i>r.</i> (top).	Draft of letter to the earl of Essex	85
12 <i>r.</i>	Queries about a ministry derived from Popery	21
12 <i>l</i>	Queries about the Church under Popery	21
13 <i>l</i> .	Fragmentary notes	36
13 <i>r.</i>	Beginning of draft of a letter [to the earl of Essex ?]	94
14 <i>l</i>	Scripture annotations on <i>Matt</i> and <i>Gal</i>	8
14 <i>r</i> (i)	Draft fragment of a letter [to Burghley ?]	61
(ii)	Logic definitions	96
15 <i>l</i>	Two draft fragments of letter to Burghley	61
15 <i>r</i> -19 <i>l</i> , then 20 <i>r.</i> and 21 <i>l</i>	Letter to Burghley	56
19 <i>r</i> (i).	A prayer to Heaven	36
(ii)	Alternative paragraph for theological statement . . .	20
20 <i>l</i>	Blank	
21 <i>r</i>	Draft fragments of letters [to Burghley ?]	60
22 <i>l.</i> (rev)	A confession and a resolution	36
22 <i>r.</i>	Scripture annotations on <i>Hosea</i>	9
23 <i>l</i> (rev)	The Word of God and not the law of the land to be the authority for the ministry	22
23 <i>r</i> (i).	Fragment of an appeal to the queen	52
25 <i>l</i> .	Fragment of an appeal to the queen	52
23 <i>r</i> (ii)-25 <i>r</i>	Letter to the council, perhaps addressed to the lord keeper	80
25 <i>r</i> (foot).	Two paragraphs for incorporating in letter to Burghley .	77
26 <i>l</i> -28 <i>r</i> (top)	Draft of letter to Burghley, ending with the offer of two alternatives	71
28 <i>r</i> -29 <i>l</i> .	Paragraphs for incorporating in letters to Burghley .	75
29 <i>l</i> -35 <i>l</i> . (top)	Draft of letter to Burghley	61
35 <i>l</i> . (i)	Two paragraphs for incorporating in letters to Burghley .	77
35 <i>l</i> . (ii), 36 <i>l</i> .	A Supplication of the Brownist Church to parliament .	44
35 <i>r.</i>	Part of a petition [to the council ?]	47

<i>Page of Notebook</i>		<i>Page within</i>
36 <i>r</i>	Part of a petition	84
37 <i>l</i>	Part of a petition	85
37 <i>r</i> .-38 <i>l</i> .	Letter to Richard Young	49
38 <i>r</i> .-39 <i>r</i> .	Another draft of the same, dated 12 March 1592[/3]	50
40 <i>l</i> .-42 <i>l</i> .	Draft of a letter to the council [?]	77
42 <i>r</i> .	Blank	
43 <i>l</i> (rev.).	Fragment The charge against the prelates	35
43 <i>r</i>	Blank	
44 <i>l</i> and <i>r</i>	Blank	
45 <i>l</i>	Letter to Burghley	53
45 <i>r</i> .	Another draft of the same	54
46 <i>l</i> and <i>r</i> .	Blank	
47 <i>l</i> , 48 <i>l</i> .	Blank	
47 <i>r</i> , 48 <i>r</i> . (rev.).	Revised draft of part of letter to Burghley (29-35) rebutting the charge of being Martin Marprelate	69
49 <i>l</i> .	Fragments of a diary, 1592-3	38
49 <i>r</i> .-54 <i>r</i>	The separatists not seditious	24
55 <i>l</i> .	Blank	
55 <i>l</i> .	Fragment on the authority of the ministry	22
55 <i>r</i>	Blank	
56 <i>l</i> . (rev.).	Torn fragment	37
56 <i>l</i>	Fragments notes [to Mrs Penry ?] referring to Lee and Billet	37
56 <i>r</i>	An apostaticall Church within the true Church	23
56 <i>r</i> -63 <i>l</i> . (reversed and not consecutive).	A statement of belief	15
60 <i>l</i> (rev.).	Scripture annotations on <i>Col</i>	11
60 <i>r</i> . (rev.).	Fragmentary theological notes	21
63 <i>r</i> , 64 <i>r</i> .	Blank	
64 <i>l</i> . (rev.).	Scripture annotations on 2 <i>Cor.</i> , <i>Rom</i> , <i>Col</i>	13
65 <i>l</i> .-67 <i>r</i> . (rev.).	A reply to the prelates	31
68 <i>l</i> . (rev.).	Letter to one with no deepness of earth	41
68 <i>r</i> . (rev.).	Scripture annotations on <i>Col</i>	11
69 <i>l</i> . (rev.).	Scripture annotations on <i>Zech.</i> , <i>Rom.</i> , <i>Col</i>	12
69 <i>r</i> .	Blank	
70 <i>l</i> .- <i>r</i> .	Draft of letter to Christopher Goodman, 19 Dec. 1592	41
71 <i>l</i>	Note on <i>Hebrews</i> iii. 3-5	14
71 <i>r</i> .	Blank	
72 <i>l</i>	Aphorisms on the true Church and no compromise	23
72 <i>r</i> (i)	Fragments other than personal	95
(ii).	Probable draft for incorporating in letter to Essex	93

THE NOTEBOOK OF JOHN PENRY, 1593

SECTION I

ANNOTATIONS ON THE SCRIPTURES

Like the rest of the Puritans, Penry found in the Bible the final authority for both the individual and the Church. Therein was the pattern in the mount, every detail of the Church's life, organization, and worship was set out in it, and no departure, by addition or subtraction, must be made. Did Josiah effect a reformation? Even so must Elizabeth. Did Korah, Dathan, and Abiram rebel against Moses and Aaron? Even so do the bishops against the chosen of God. To Penry the Bible was not merely a mine of homiletical and hortatory matter, nor was it merely food on which the believer could nourish his spiritual life. It was also an armoury, filled with weapons to use against those who had disobeyed its instructions. From it parallels between the story of the Jews and the experiences of Elizabethan Christians could at any time be drawn. The Puritans were biblical students and expositors, not only or primarily to elucidate the meaning of the text and apply it to their personal lives, but also to determine current controversies. Their exposition, that is to say, was polemical, and when Penry comments on verses in *Hosea* or *Galatians*, it is with an eye on the pope and the cardinals, Whitgift and the bishops.

It will be necessary for readers to have a Bible open before them to get the point of the comment on the passages to which reference is made. Penry's references are sometimes a verse out.

None of these extracts is dated. Most of them are beautifully written in the small neat hand, no doubt before Penry was imprisoned, and probably when he was in Scotland.

1. On Matthew, 1 John, 2 John, 3 John, Jeremiah, Isaiah.

[1 *right*-3 *right*; neat hand]

Jesu Christ dechre a diwed ¹

Math. 1. 25 [*sic*, 23].

They that have their calling from Antichrist and not from Christ cannot say God is with us but Antichrist, and so Christ is not their true immanuel.

[Math. 1.] 20.

The calling that is brought forth is not of the holy ghost, and therefore whatsoever is begotten thereby is begotten unto the Romane Ager and not unto the celestiall Sara.

Math. 2. 1.

Shall we now go and demand for another king or another ministry then Christ and his ordinances shall we be subject to another.

[Math. 2.] 3 [*sic*, 2].

We are not to worship Antichrist in his ministry.

¹ The translation of this Welsh heading is 'Jesus Christ beginning and end'

[Math. 2.] 4.

Yf any seek Christ to worship him¹ all the evell livers in a contrey wilbe so trobled therwith as though som great mishapp had befallen them.

[Math. 2.] 5.

He should bee the right heyr of the house of Juda, by whose ordinances the church should be ruled and fedd.

[Math. 2.] 8.

Lett the wise men fynd out Christ, and Herod will also worship or murther him.

[Math. 2.] 9

Yf wee have lost the loade starr, wee may go to Herod and Caiphas to seek the way unto Christ Jesus.

Christ escaping, Herod wilbe revenged of infantes.

Math 3. 3.

Tak heed of making straight steppes for the mynistry of Antichrist in stead of the ordinances of Christ.

[Math. 3.] 10.

Eyth²er bring forth good³ frutt, or to the fyer.

Math. 4. 4.

Yt is not food, but food joynd with the promise of god, that maketh man to live.

Math. 5. 6.

Marvell not that wee ar earnest for wee hunger and thirst for righteousnes even the pure and righteous ordenaunces of the Lord.

Math. 6. 24.

Men canot whatsoever they pretend serv in the mynistry of Christ and in the mynistry of Antichrist ; but they shall³ cleave to the one and despise the other.

Look whether of the two mynisteryes they cleav unto the other do they reject ; and look whether it is that they embrace the other they hate.

Math. 7. 10.

Yf the people had asked the mynistry of Christ at the handes of the Lord, would hee give them the priesthood⁴ of Antichrist in the stead therof

[Math 7.] 21.

Yt is not wordes but deed[s] that will shew that wee belong unto the kingdom of heaven.

[Math. 7.] 24.

To heer and to allow the truth is but to build upon the sand exsept you practise.

Math. 8. 11.

Yt is no new thing to see many com from the east and from the west, and the children of the kingdom excluded

¹ 'him' written in above the line

³ 'eyther' crossed out

² 'good' written in

⁴ Faded word, difficult to read

[Math. 8.] 23.

The case is shamfull that the disciples will not follow their master into the shipp except they be assured that no tempest shall arise

[Math. 8.] 24 [*sic*, 34].

The loss of their swine is so intollerable unto the []¹ that they will entreat Christ to depart out of their coaste

Math. 9. 17 [*sic*, 16]

The Romish priesthood with the mynistry of the gospell, is but a peec of Raw cloth in an ould garment, and it maketh the breach far worse.

Math. 10. 16.

Yt wilbe allwayes the lott of the servauntes of Christ to bee as sheep among wolves. Marvell not to see the members of Christ unnaturally handled, for wee are fortold therof

Math. 11. 3.

Hee that was to com is com and wee ar not to look for an other to establish any thing in his church

[Math. 11.] 23.

Yf the knowleg had been in Sodom and Gomor. that is now in professors, they would hav long sync submittid them selves unto gods ordinances But this age hath not been so highly exalted in knowleg, but it shalbe throwen downe far lower in the judgmentes of god yf it obey not.

[Math. 11.] 27.

No man can know the father any farther then it pleaseth the sonn to reveal him.

[2 left]

Math. 12. 6.

He that is greater then the temple, greater then the world² [P] requireth obedyenc at our handes, and therfor to follow the Jewes in arguing for the Sabbaoth or for the preaching agaynst him that is greater then both preachinge and Sabaoth is near madnes.

[Math. 12.] 30.

He that is not in this poynt with Christ Jesus in establishing his mynistry is agaynst him, and he³ in the mayntenance of a fals Antichristian order.

[Math. 12.] 33.

Yf the office be sower how can the fruit be good, yf the office be bitter how can the fruit but be so tooe.

¹ Blank in MS.

² Possibly 'word'

³ ' & he ' appears to be faintly crossed out Perhaps Penry intended to write ' & he helpeth ', and then found he had omitted ' helpeth ', and so crased the other words

Math. 13. 41.

Should any officer¹ or any that work knowen unrighteousnes bee reaceved or retayned in the house of god in this lyf.

[Math. 13.] 17.

Yt will bee no whit better for this age to bee accounted to have these thinges which many prophettes and wise men desired to see except they obey For Capernaum had this preferment.

1 John 2. 1. 2.

The truth was written unto us that wee shold not synn by walking in any course saving in the same.

[1 John 2.] 5.

What shold wee speak of continuing in the truth except wee will walk as the author of truth hath taught us.²

[1 John 2.] 7.

Wee are not to seek great Antiquities out of the word, for the ancye[n]t commandement is the word, which wee have reaceved from the beginning.

[1 John 2.] 21.

No ly is of the truth. The calling of the priesthood is a lying falshood. Therfor not of the truth.

[1 John. 2.] 24.

That only which wee have heard from the beginning must continue in us, that wee may also continue in the father and in the sonne.

1 John 3. 7.

He only is righteous that doth righteousnes.

[1 John 3.] 8.

Christ Jesus and his gospell hath apeare[d], that hee might dissolve and not publish the workes of the divell.

1 John 4. 6.

Wee charg not men with error any father [*sic*] then they burden them selves therwith in not hearing the truth. For hee that is not of god heareth not the truth.

[1 John 4.] 8.

Hee that loveth not the truth of god and his righteous ordenances knoweth not god.

[1 John 4.] 9.

The wittness of god is tenn thousandfold greater then the wittnes of men and thus is the wittnes of God which he testified of his sonne, that hee and not Antichrist shold apoynt the callings in his church.

¹ May just possibly be 'offence'—writing very small

² Punctuation may be exclamation mark after 'What', and question mark at the end.

[1 John 4.] 10.

Hee that believeth not the Lord in this poynt maketh him a lyer, because he believeth not the wittnes, that heerin he gave of his only sonne.

2 John 1. 6.

The commandement of god is that as wee have herd from the beginning so wee shold walke in it.

[2 John 1.] 9.

Whosoever transgresseth and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hee hath ¹ not god.

3 John 8.

Wee ought to reaceve such that wee might bee helpers to the truth. Hee that doeth well is of god, but hee that doth not well is not of god.

Jir. 1. 9

Yf wee be found to speak any wordes but these ² which the Lord hath put into our mouthes lett us not bee hearkened unto, but yf wee bring his message wee must speak all that he commandeth us and be heard.

Jir. 2. 3.

Lett men tak heed of devouring the church, for shee is consecrated unto the Lord.

[2 *right*]

Jir 2. 7.

May the priestes pollute and defile the inheritance of the Lord, or may the Lordes portion suffer it self to bee polluted by the ordinances of a strang god.

Jir. 2. 8.

Oh wonderfull case, that the Lordes messengers will not demaund for the Lordes ordenances; but will prophesy in Baal, and tak that course which will not profit the church, but bring iust damnation upon them.

Jir. 2. 11.

Hath any but the preachers of England changed the mynistry of god, with the mynistry of Antichrist.

[Jir. 2.] 13.

The people of England have forsaken the Lordes ordenances and digged them most filthy and broken pittes. even [?] the broken mynistry of the kingdome of Antichrist.

Lett not men say that the Lord doth not offer them and desier them to reaceve and accept of an other mynistry. For hee that hath given them a word as they account it would give them a mynistry. And others of their brethren have a better mynistry, as for them, they will not wett their foot to seek for it Nay they think it not worthy the adventure of their outward state; or of their least commodity.

¹ 'both the father' crossed out.

² Or 'those'.

[Jir. 2.] 23

How can they say they have not polluted them selves with Antichristian ordenances, seing they submitt them selves unto them in every parish, and hunt after them from parish to parish?

Their hypocriticall objection wilbe that they go after the word and reject the ordinanc, so may they say of the mass, that they go for the word which is their [*sic*],¹ but reject the abhominable sacrific, and when they say, that they submitt not them selves unto the mynistry, I wold know whether they bee without the mynistry or no, they say they ar, yt is replyed that then yf the Lordes mynistry stand, they are guilty of rejecting him in his ordenances, yf it doth not stand as they would seek² to hold, then lett it be judged what account they mak of the church of England as they call it Notwithstanding all this, yet³ they hold it to bee without a mynistry.

[Jir. 2.] 25.

When the Lord bideth them keep and restrayn their feet from this strang mynistry, yet they []⁴ desperatly and say no, but wee will seek it, for the word do wee love, thus Sathan having made them drink⁵ hee hath also blinded them that the[y] see not the poyson by reason of the bayt As though Sathan in any ag[e] bringeth his corruptiones without some shew, and because their is a shew therfor they think they may receave the same.

[Jir. 2.] 27

They say to a preesthood thou hast begotten us unto the Lord, thou art our father in the Lord, and so they forgett⁶ the Lordes ordenances for Balaines.

Jir. 3. 15.

The Lord giveth no priestes to bee the pastors of his people, but thes are priestes ergo⁷

All the falt in the magistrate.⁸

[3 left]

1⁹. Wee ar to glorify no ordenances by submitting our selves unto them but only the ordenances of the true god. We ow not this unto any fals god.

Jir. 7. 6.

2. For be it that wee should go after other goðes by walking in their ordenances, for whether els should their ordenances leade us but unto them.

¹ Penry often uses 'their' for 'there'.

² Edge of page, may be 'seem'

³ A word, perhaps 'namely', is crossed out, and 'Notwithstanding all this, yet' written below.

⁴ A short indecipherable word; possibly 'are' and 'desperatly' should be 'desperate'.

⁵ Or 'drunk'

⁶ Did Penry intend to write 'forsake'?

⁷ Sentence ends thus

⁸ As MS Seems irrelevant here, but perhaps intended for (3) on next page. See the next note.

⁹ No Scripture reference to 1, but no doubt Jer v. 19 The purpose of the numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 (no 3) is not clear

Jir. 50. 6.

4. Our people by meanes of their leaders are turned to the ordenances of other gods, they goe frome mountayn to mountayn seeking a preaching priest [],¹ curat, or lecturer and have forgotten their rest.

Jir. 51. 17.

5 The fashion and frame of this mynistry is falshood and it wanteth that breath and lyf of that spirituall promise which is annexed unto the callinges ordayned by the Lord.

Jir. 51. 18.

6. In the tym wherin the Lord will visit them they shalbe found vanity and the workes of error They shall not stay in the church nor enny obedyenc unto the Lord by them bee acceptable in his sighte.

[3 *right*]

² Isa 62 [8.]

Yt must be a great grief of heart unto Jerushalem that the sones of strangers offer the bread of hir god Isai 62.

Jir. 30. 14.

Jerushalem is in a pitifull estate that none of hir lovers remember hir, and seek hir but all have forgotten hir now in the dayes of hir adversity³ preachers and all, how earnest soever they seemed to bee in hir⁴ prosperity.

Jir. 31. 4.

Men seek no more but lyf for the church as though her building, hir liberty hir ornamentes hir joy, wear matters not to bee regarded, and that it wear nothing for hir to go forth in the danc of them that bee joyfull.

Jir. 5. 12.

Such men have denyed the Lord in his ordenances and sayed it is not hee, and they are not his ordenances, or wee will not seek him in them.

Jir. 5. 19.

Lyk as you have forsaken myne ordenances and served mee by the ordenances of a strang god, so shall ye be at the allowanc of straungers, and not attended upon by those whome you know, but by such as it may bee in fear that they will cutt your⁵ throat. The Lord will not comitt the holy thinges of his worship, but unto those whome he knoweth, and not unto strang officers. If they bee so unfaythfull and so carless of the honour of god, as not to regard⁶ whether they have a true callinge, how dare wee comitt our soules unto them. Yf wee judged that the Lord had sent them, wee should have cause to gather that first they had grace to look unto the welth of their owne soule.

Wee dobt not but such of the people as wilbe accounted to bee called will think

¹ Word undeciphered

² These two lines written in at the top of the page in Penry's looser hand

³ 'prosperity' crossed out

⁵ For 'his'.

⁴ 'the' crossed out

⁶ Margin 'Desperat'.

this to bee that wherunto they are called, that is to deny unrighteousnes and to suffer with Christ untill he recover his owne right; and especially, that it appear that they tender [?] ¹ the glory of god that they will not have him served by strangers who will not stuck to betray his honour when opportunity serveth. Will they lett his servie bee in the hand of straungers? Yf they be any wise touched with his honour.

Jir. 50. 8.

In flying from Babell wee are to bee as the hee goates befor the flockes that is to lead others

Jir. 51. 30.

The strong men that wear wont to defend the corruptions ar now faynted they ar lyk women. Wee can gett never an adversary that will stand befor our face.

2. On Matthew and Galatians.

[14 left; the *Matthew* annotations in the loose, the *Galatians* in the neat, hand]

Math. 13. 27.

The Lord never sowed these offices, they belong not unto his garden they are tares.

[Math. 13.] 29.

Yf the mynisters of this age weer good servantes, they would put ² labour to root them out.

[Math. 13]. 44.

Wee think this pearle worth all that wee have therfor wee find it with the loss of our liberty etc.

[Math. 14. 6]

At the celebrating of Herods birth day there are marvellous holy exercises and good orders kept, wanton daunsing killing of innocentes, etc.

Gal. 1. 4.

Christ hath delivered us from this present evell bondage, that wee shold serve him.

[Gal. 1.] 7.

The[y] troble the children of god and intend to pervert the gospell of Christ, that wold retayn us in bondag unto these Antichristian ordenances.

[Gal. 1.] 9.

They preach otherwise then wee have receaved.

[Gal. 1.] 11.

That which wee hold is not after man, but it is from Jesus Christ.

¹ 'wilbe' seems to be crossed out, and another word, perhaps 'tender', follows

² 'put' may be crossed out

Gal. 2. 4. 5.

Wee must mayntayn the liberty of the gossell, and not suffer our selves to bee brought in bondag by any.

Gal. 3. 1.

Yt is strandg [?] who hath bewitched the men of this ag[e] that they shold not believe the truth.

[Gal. 3] 2.

Reaceved they the graces by the power of Antichrist or by vertue of the truth taught.

[Gal. 3.] 3.

Ar they so foolish as to ascrib that unto the Antichristian ordenance, which was done by the force of the truth

[Gal. 3] 10.

As many as continue under the ordenances of Antichrist and the power therof continue under the curse Because it is written, cursed is hee that continueth in Babel

[Gal. 3] 11. 12

That a mynistry canot bee had [?]¹ by the ordenances of Antichrist it is evident for the same is only in the church And the mynistry of Christ is not the mynistry of Antichrist.

[Gal. 3.] 21.

This mynistry is agaynst and excludeth the mynistry of Christ.

[Gal. 3] 23. 24. 27.

Before wee knew Christ wee were kept under this bondage. But after fayth is come wee are the sones of god in Christ, and therfor not subject unto any of the ordenances of Antichrist.

Gal. 4. 22. 31.

That Church that assemble that is under Antichrist is in bondag, but the church of Christ is free.

3. On Hosea.

[22 right; upside down; in very small hand, but ink well preserved]

Hosh. 1. 4.

Jehu shed bloud by the Lords commandement but yet becaus hee did it not² as the Lord would his offspring aunswered for it.

[Hosh. 1.] 7.

Oh when wilt thou shew unto us that salvation which is to bee had frome the Lord our god.

¹ Perhaps 'buyled' for 'builded'; the annotations on Galatians are written in a very small hand.

² MS has comma after 'not'

[Hosh. 1] 11.

The parish assemblies have not the same head that wee have in regard of their offices.¹

Hosh. 2. 7

Our mother vz ² the church of England hath played the ougly strumpett and harlott. Yt weare to bee wished that shee would seek hir first husband.

Hosh. 3 4. 5.

Better wear it for the land to bee without an offering then not to seek the Lord god

Hosh. 4 4

Though our people are growen headstrong against their god yet must not they bee robbed.

Hosh 5 1

Yf ever any wear a snare upon mizpah and a nett spread upon Taber our priestes ar the men

[Hosh 5] 6

Tak heed lest the Lord will not bee found when you seek him.

[Hosh 5] 10

Ar not our princes lyke them that remove the mark.

Hosh. 6. 5 9

The Lord hath cutt downe by his prophettes and slayn with the wordes of his mouth, yet the company of priestes murther in the way.

Hosh. 7. 2.

Oh that men wold consider in their hartes that the Lord remembreth all their iniquities.

Hosh. 8. 3

Yt is no new thing to see a people professing godlines to cast off the thing that is good.

[Hosh 8] 6.

The workman made these offices therfor they ar not the Lordes.

[Hosh. 8.] 13.

Well the[y] may sacrific that flesh which the Lord requireth but hee accepteth not therof.

Hosh. 9. 3

The unclean thinges of ashur ³ shold bee cast off.

Hosh. 9 15 17.

Yf ever wickednes and disobedyenc cast a people of[f] alas ⁴ that shall come of our people.

¹ Possibly 'officers'

² = Assyria.

³ Or possibly something cancelled

⁴ Reads 'als'; probably 'also'.

Hosh. 10 5.

The very cause wherat the ennemies [²] now do so much rejoyce shalbe the cause of their sorrow.

Hosh. 11. 12.

Lett us yet rule with our god and bee faythfull with his sayntes howsoever it goeth with us.

4. On Colossians.

[60 *left*, upside down; looser hand]

Collos 5 [*sic*, 1. 5].

The blessings that ar had by Christ Jesus in regard of the possession of the kingdome of heaven was not man capable of in Paradise for his lyf was ~~but~~ an earthly lyf thoughe¹ most blessed and happy

[Collos 1] 4.

Unto the fayth in Christ Jesus is necessarily joyned the love unto the sayntes

[Collos 1.] 6.

The gospell of ² is fruitfull whersoever it cometh and bee reaceved aright

[Collos. 1.] 11.

The graces amongst others are pacienc and long suffering with joyfullnes.

[Colos. 1] 13.

Delivered from the power of darknes and translated unto the kingdome of Christ Jesus.

Colos. 2. 3.

I beleve that all the treasures of wisdom and godlines are hidden in Christ Jesus, so that they which ³ derive it not frome him, and therfor wee must not bee deaceved to seek for wisdom els wheir then frome him.

[68 *left*; upside down; loose hand]

Collos. 4 10

Nothing is to be reaceved into the house of God but by especiaall commandement and authority. This priesthood hath no commandement to work therein.

Coloss. 4. 17.

They seduc a company of poor ignorant simple folkes in making them to believ that they hav a mynistry frome God, wheras in the meane tyme as soone as the magistrates forbyddeth them ⁴ they are silnt, they leave off.

¹ 'full of' crossed out

² May be 'oft'; otherwise word omitted after 'of'

³ Obviously some words omitted here, or after 'frome him'

⁴ Or 'then'

5. On Zechariah, Romans, Colossians.

[69 *left*; upside down; looser hand]

Zechr. 6. 13.

The work of building the church I believe to belong only unto Christ Jesus, who buildeth the same to the end that hee may bee glorified their, and sitt in the same as a king, and as a priest.

Ro. 1. 7.

The servantes of god are beloved of him, sanctified by him unto an holy lyf.

R. 1. 25. 26.

I beleve that this god hath most fearfully punished them that knowing his maestie wold not worship him as god.

R. 2. 3. 4.

The judgements [*sic*] of god is according unto truth and not according unto the examples of ¹ his long suffering,² the which if wee shall abuse wee shall surely perish. Yt is upon all unrighteousnes of men.

Collos. 2. 6

As wee have receaved Christ Jesus so wee must walk in him, but wee have receaved him without a priest ergo wee must walk in him soe.

[Collos. 2.] 8.

Wee must not bee taught in him according unto the traditiones of the world. Such is the priesthood.

[Collos. 2.] 10.

Wee must be compleat in him which is the head of all power³ by that power only which is derived from him, for his body can have no conjunction with him, but by his owne ordenances, by his owne lyf.

[Collos. 2.] 13. 15.

The Lord hath not more gloriously triumphed in his weaknes upon the Cross over⁴ the hand writing of the law which was agaynst us then hee hath in⁵ his glory over Antichrist and his ordenances.

[Collos. 2.] 18.

Wee are Christes and therfor no man must bear rule over us in religion by his owne authority or by mans authority for hee only whoe is our head must do this.

All the body is knytt together by those bandes⁶ which cometh frome the head. But this priesthood holdeth not the head, is not frome the heade.

¹ Penry seems to have written 'wherof', and then crossed out the first syllable.

² Four, or possibly three, words written in above 'long suffering'—'he [?] with men'.

³ 'only' crossed out after 'power'

⁴ 'agaynst' crossed out, 'over' substituted

⁵ 'over' crossed out, 'in' substituted

⁶ Or 'bondes'

6. On 2 Corinthians, Romans, Colossians.

[64 *left*, upside down; looser hand]

2 Cor. 5. 19 [*sic*, 18].

All thinges to be receaved in the church is [*sic*] of god, this mynistry is not of god. therfor ¹

[2 Cor. 5.] 20 ².

Who hath comitted the mynistry unto them not the Lord by his ordenances.

The people ought to bee permitted to seek for another mynistry for as for this desent of the popish offices their is no truth in it.

Rom. 2. 8.

To obey this mynistry is to obey unrighteousnes and therfor deserve wrath.

[Rom 2.] 25 ².

They that submitt them selves unto this mynistry submitt not them selves unto the ordenances of the gospell, for this mynistry is none of these ordenances.

Ro. 2. 29 ³.

That is not relligion which sayet[h] ⁴ of itself that it is ⁵ inwardly in the heart . but that which outwardly [] ⁶ it self.

Ro. 3. 6.

The Lord god is righteous in all his weyes thoughe man canot see the reason of his actiones.

The Lord requireth at the handes of all men eyther obedyenc unto his gospell or that they shold suffer when they do not yeald the same therunto.

Ro. 3. 20.

For are [we] not ⁷ under the yok of the gospell as they wear under the lawe ?

Coloss. 1. 25.

Hee is an intruder and not a mynister whoe admynistreth not in the house of God by vertue of that oconomy and dispensation which the Lord hath in his house. Such ar our priestes.

7. 'The breaches of the second commandement.'

[4 *left*; neat hand]

¹ In the second comaundement wee are forbyden to give unto the Lord any worship of our owne fantasy. Deut. 4. 23. and 12. 1. 2. 3. 4. Math. 15. 9 Gal 1. 7 8. 9.

But the priesthood is a peec of his worship. Ergo,

¹ Sentence left incomplete.

² Margin, opposite this entry and one below ('Rom 2 25') are two crosses in ink (X). These were probably made in the preparation of the indictment

³ Margin has 'James', maybe a reference to James 1. 27

⁴ 'sheweth' crossed out, 'sayet[h] of' written in

⁵ 'that it is' replaces a word crossed out.

⁶ Word undeciphered, ends 'etheth'

⁷ Two words, perhaps 'not' and 'we', superimposed.

2. We must frame no part of gods service by our owne wisdome much less must wee do the same by the wisdom of Sathan. But the priesthood is come from Sathan as 2 Thess. 2. 6.

3. Our spirituall worship is the conjunction of our soul to the Lord by mariag. But wee cannot be cojoynd unto him by a priesthood. Therfor to seek our conjunction with him therby is the breach of the¹ wedlock. Ephes. 5. 26. 27. Is. 54. 5.

4. The least approbation of any fals worship is heer forbidden And therfor it is unlawfull to bee present at the priesthood or any other part of will worship. Hosh. 13. 2. Rom 11. 4. 1 Cor. 6. 20 [2^o 10 20]

5. The society which wee have with the church of Rome in worshipping the beast or in reaceving hir ordenances or markes²

6. When god is worshipped with that intention which is not warranted by the word.

7. Corrupting of gods worship and that order of government which hee ordaineth. Heer is condemned the Romish Hierarchie.

8. When wee attribut more to the creatur much³ more to the invention of the Divell then wee owe. For it is a haynous thing to reverenc the creature besides the word.

9. [As soone as]⁴ any man begineth to worship god after an overthwart and unlawfull maner hee then adoreth⁵ an Idol. Rom 1. 23. 25. 1 Cor. 10. 20

10. The mynisters are bound to admynster all thinges after the word. 1 Cor. 11. 23.

8. A note on Hebrews iii. 3-5.

[71 left; loose hand]

We urg the place of Hebrues the 3. 3-5 agaynst the prelates that Christ Jesus ought to be the buider of his⁶ outward house as Moses was of the outward tabernacle and that yf wee wilbe his⁷ house wee are bound to⁸ bee framed according unto the forme [2]⁹ which hee hath sett downe.

The prelates awnswer, that wee are his house yf wee keep the profession of our hope unto the end that is yf wee suffer him to work inwardly in the conscienc and yealding the same unto his directioin [*sic*] in that respect of the inward worship of the conscienc they affirme Christ Jesus to be more faythfull then Moses but not in regard of the outward buildinge of the house, which the[y] hold may bee after that forme [2] which princes may think most convenient for their subjectes

Wee reply agayn that this wear no prerogative unto Christ to be preferred¹⁰ befor Moses in the work of the inward government of his house, wherein Moses had never any thing to do

[end 71 left]

¹ 'the' may be crossed out

² Just possibly 'workes' and not 'markes'.

³ A word or letter crossed out before 'more'

⁴ Three words difficult to read: 'As soone as' is conjectural.

⁵ 'adeth' crossed out

⁶ 'the' crossed out.

⁷ 'outw' is written in above a caret, but it seems to be crossed out again

⁸ 'submitt our selves unto his' crossed out.

⁹ May be 'frame'; followed by 'of building' which is crossed out.

¹⁰ 'unto the out' crossed out.

SECTION II

THEOLOGICAL

1. A statement of belief.

Written in the looser hand, with the book upside down, the Statement begins on 63 left, and occupies 62 right and left, 61 right and left, 59 left, 58 right and left, 57 right and left, and 56 right. There is some repetition, and possibly the matter on 59 right should be incorporated. On 19 right is a paragraph which may have been drafted for this Statement.

The treatise is of value in showing that Penry's theology was that of Calvin, and that he wholeheartedly accepted the doctrines of election and predestination. It is a rough draft only, with much correction. Even here there are polemical passages, for in discussing the person and work of Christ Penry speaks of Him as Head of the Church and its sole ruler, and so reflects on the position of the magistrate.

Parts of the treatise are used in Penry's final 'Confession of Faith' beginning 'I, John Penry, do here sett downe'. Copies of this are in the Lansdowne MSS 109, Harleian 6849 (B M), the Additional MSS of the Bodleian (c 303), and the Yelverton MSS 70. The 'Confession' was printed, with the farewell letters to his wife and children, in a volume which exhibits the straits to which the Separatists were put to get their material printed (a copy is in B M C 53, bb. 2), it is reprinted in part in Burrage, *EED*, ii 79-87.

[63 left; looser hand]

I believe with my heart and confess with my mouth and shalbe enable[d] by the grace of God to seale with my bloud this true fayth which I have lerned out of the unwritten [*sic*, written] word¹ and is undobtedly sealed in my soule and conscience by the mighty power and operation of the mighty and working spirit of the living god.²

First that ther is no god but that god only which the holy word written in the old and new testament doth shew to bee one in substanc and three in person [?] the father the sonne and the holy gost, and that this god only is the everliving and true god the creator of all thinges that have being of³ heaven and earth men and angelles, and that hee hath hath [*sic*] all power might and dominion in his owne handes, as being the soveraing Lord of all his creatures, and the supream command⁴ of men and angelles both good and badd.

I do also believe that nothing doth or can com to pass but by the determinate will, counsell purpose commandement and direction, of this true god,⁵ who hath unchangeable decreed and sett down befor all beginnings, what shold befall unto all his creatures especially unto angelles and men.⁶ Of whom [62 right] according unto this most wise most just and most holy unchangablee decree of⁷ his hee hath

¹ 'by' cancelled

² A good deal of erasure and over-writing, with resultant text as printed

³ Words from 'all' to 'of' substituted for these words after 'earth'—'and of all the thinges therein containned'.

⁴ 'both' crossed out

⁵ The sentence following substituted for 'whoe is my god and my strong reedemer, unto whom be prayse for ever and ever'

⁶ For 'men and angelles'

⁷ For 'purpose of'

appoynted some unto æternall salvation and others of them unto everlasting perdition.¹

I do beleve lykewise that at the firste he made all his creatures even the damned angelles or divelles them selves exceedingly good perfect and upright and most blessed. And that the Apostaticall Angelles by their horrible rebellign² agaynst their Lord and Maker, yea their head and king, fell frome this most blessed estate, and are reserved³ in chaines of darknes unto the judgement of the greate⁴ without any hope of recovery for any of them.

As touching man I beleve in lyk sort that being at the first created in a most []⁵ yet notwithstanding this decree of his, I do beleve that hee made all his creatures at the first even the damned angelles or develles them selves exceedingly good, perfect upright and most blessed and that the miserable estate⁶ wherunto they have made them selves subject [62 *left*] came from their owne willfull and most horrible rebellign against their maker⁷

And first in respect of the Angelles.⁸

I do beleve that such of them, as wear not elected did most treacherously fall frome their first⁹ estate, and so thrust them selves voluntarily and wofully¹⁰ yet by the just though severe judgment of god unto irrecoverable [?] damnation, soe that not one of these¹¹ hath or ever shall have any hope of recovery.

As touching man I beleve in lyk sort, that hee being mad[e] in perfect holines uprightness and fellicyty both body and soule, and in such sort as he was as¹² the Lords deputy ruler or lietenant over all the foules of the ayer the beastes of the field and fishes of the sea, did¹³ by most horrible rebellion fall frome this highe dignity¹⁴ and brought him self and all his posterity subject unto the æternall curse of god, wherby hee did not only beereve him self of the government of the creatures, but also plunged him and his¹⁴

lost his holines, perfection, uprightness, and the dominion which hee had over the

¹ Four lines follow, which seem to be crossed out:

'Now to the end that his infinitt goodnes and wisdom might appear I do beleve that he hath at the first created all things exceedingly good'.

² Penry often uses 'gn' for 'ng': after 'rebellign', 'fell frome' crossed out

³ 'reserved' seems mild, but it is a quotation from 2 Peter ii. 4

⁴ 'day' or some such word omitted

⁵ A blank line in MS It almost looks as if Penry broke off and resumed after an interval, which would account for the repetition

⁶ 'miserable estate' is written above 'destruction', which, however, is not crossed out.

⁷ At the top of this page three lines are written in, small and difficult.

'This excellency wherin they were created I confess not to proceed or yet to consist in any thing that was or is in them save only by them reaceve[d] [?] and [?] had of their Creator whoe hath appoynted them to bee'

A word is erased after 'reaceve', and then are two undeciphered words

⁸ 'Apostaticall' crossed out.

⁹ Undeciphered word written in after 'first'.

¹⁰ 'Willingly' crossed out.

¹¹ Margin: 'all the angelles fell not, but all that fell are irrecoverable All men fell, but yet all fall not into this remedlesse estate'

¹² 'as' may be crossed out

¹³ Word crossed out after 'did'

¹⁴ A line is drawn from after 'dignity' down the margin to 'and his' Penry seems to have become dissatisfied with the sentence ending 'and his', drawn the line, and made a new start, without cancelling the sentence

creatures, made them selves and all their posterity without exception subject unto gods æternall curse.

[61 *left*]

Man having¹ brought him self and his posterity []² into this miserable estat I do believe that hee is now by nature ane enemy unto the maiestie of god, an apostaticall rebell and traytor agaynst his maker and in such sort as hee can neyther understand³ nor will the thinges that are acceptable unto god

Yet the Lord of his infinite goodnes and mercy⁴ hath vouchafed to mak some difference between the estat of mankynd that fell and the condicion of the angelles that lost their first estat, in that⁵ hee hath appoynted a meanes wherby⁶

Our first parentes being created in this blessed estate, wear also thus made not only in them selves, but also in all their posterity offspring and posterity⁷

I do also believe, that to this purpose⁸ their was and is an estate of obedyenc according unto the will of their creatur [*sic*] for them to continue⁹ from the which when¹⁰ eyther the angelles or mankind did fall, they perceaved by miserable experienc that the goodnes which was in them consisted in the unchangable liberallity of the creator, frome the execution of whose commandement as soone as ever they departed then drew they upon them selves æternall [61 *right*] judgment.

Miserable man thus falling away continueth also [?] of him self in this miserable estate for evermore, and so is naturally the child of wrath.

But heerin the goodnes of the Lord of lyf whoe befor ever hee was or fell had¹¹ chosen some of them to¹² bee adopted through the Jesus Christ unto him self, by vertue of the everlasting covenant¹³ of of [*sic*] his free grace and favor hee made with them in Christ befor all beginning¹⁴

So that¹⁵ man having made him self and his posterity the child of wrath by nature, is made the elect vessell of god, and the heyr of heaven by grace in Christ Jesus.

This most highe and most exellent preheminenc is offered unto all yet all are not partakers therof.

[59 *left*]

But the Lord god of his infinitt and great goodnes towardes man exeeding his faviour unto the lost angelles had befor all beginning of his great love towardes¹⁶

¹ 'being th' crossed out

² Word undeciphered, may be 'sub', the beginning of 'subject', crossed out.

³ 'will' crossed out

⁴ Margin.

⁵ 'not by any merit of our naturall inheritanc are wee now brought into heaven'

⁶ 'of the holy angelles' crossed out

⁷ 'some of' crossed out, and sentence breaks down

⁷ As MS.

⁸ 'to this purpose' duplicated, and the first cancelled

⁹ 'in to show that the' crossed out

¹⁰ For 'yf'.

¹¹ 'apoynted of his great goodnes and grace to serve his' crossed out

¹² 'unto' cancelled

¹³ This sentence replaces four cancelled lines 'whoe keepeth covenant and mercy apereath adorable [admirable?] in that hee hath befor all beginniges apoynted that such of the seed of Adame as by vertue of the everlasting covenant'

¹⁴ 'These [? those] whome hee hath elect', on new line, cancelled

¹⁵ 'of the number [?]' cancelled

¹⁶ 'man' crossed out

elect apoynted of his free gift the meanes wherby¹ his wrath shold bee satisfied, mans synne and guiltines done away, and hee brought unto a farr more blessed estate then he was created in Adame.

This meanes I beelieve to bee the sonne of god, Christ Jesus alone.

Christ Jesus I beelieve to bee in regard of his natures god and man even the right heyr of the house of Davyd, and yet Davyds Lord, as being God above all blessed for evermore² ³ As long as this church is upon earth it shall have enemyes; it shalbe oppugned, and yet stand by the word of hir [?] testimony and the power of Christ sure and stedfast even agaynst the gaves [*sic*, 'graves' or 'gates' ?] dominion and power of hell it self and of all Sathans souldiers.

Hee it is⁴ whoe hath the government upon his shoulders, whoe is the wonderful, the counsellor, The mighty god, the everlasting father, the princ of peac, and being [58 *right*] and being the head of the body of the church, hee it is whoe alone is⁵ to rule the same as a king and an husband, and a redeemer, and so is by vertue of his office the only kinge priest and prophett of his church.

For the accomplishment of this salvation I do believe that hee hath in the dayes of his flesh undergone and fully satisfied the sever[e] wrath and indignatione of his father for the synnes of the elect only and none other, even by humbling himself for them unto the death even the most cruel [?] and accursed,⁶ and by the efficiency forc and power of his sayd death, resurrection,⁷ and assentione unto heaven cleared⁸ all his elect members from the punishment and guilt of their synnes, and brought them unto an assured hope that bodyes and soules they shall live with him in heaven for evermore in that blessed kingdom that was prepared unto them befor all beginniges.⁹

The elect whoe are partakers of this most unspeakable benefitt and adorned [?]

¹ 'when this' crossed out

² Then the beginning of a new paragraph scored out

'This Christ Jesus, in regard of his offices, upon whose shoulders ['government' crossed out] the regiment is, whoe is the'

³ The next two paragraphs seem out of place On the opposite page of the notebook (59 *right*, upside down) are two paragraphs, written in the two different hands, perhaps intended to find a place in this statement.

Christ Jesus was in the efficiency of his death and passion a lamb slayn befor all beginning of the world

His dayes did Abraham see and rejoyced

He was exposed in due tyme, thoughe promised frome all beginning

As it is a syn for an Antichristian member to impose him self upon his body, so is it a synne for the body to reaceve and bee subject unto any such For no other ought to bee the kng priest and prophett of the elect but Christ Jesus

⁴ 'This Christ Jesus' crossed out

⁵ For 'that by his'

⁶ The words between the commas are written above a caret and between lines and are difficult

⁷ Margin. 'Resurrection' 'Restoring [? Resting] of the creatures'.

⁸ 'brought' crossed out

⁹ Margin 'I beleve that he hath not left his church [?] I beleve that hee hath appoynted a society of his sayntes That all are bound to bee theroff[,] that his servc and his presence is therein, he will not have hir reaceve any ordenanc from other'. The undeciphered word should be easy, but isn't It begins 'de' or 'di' and ends 'ed', perhaps 'red', and there may be a medial 'd'

with these wonderfull privaleges I believe to bee those only who have a full perswasion in their hartes, that Christ Jesus is theirs and that they are his.

This perswasion only doth the scriptures call the fayth of gods elect, without [58 *left*] without which it is impossible to please God or to bee at one with him.¹ This fayth is wrought by no other meanes in the hart of man, then by the ² powerfull working of the spirit of god in the heart working upon the same by the knowledge of the truth which is according unto godlines ³ in such sort as I believe that whosoever they bee that have not this spirit dwelling in them that they are not ⁴ Christs members. For yf any man hath not the spirit of Christ the same is none of his ⁵

Whersoever this spirit is and this true fathe is ther of necessity followeth the true assuranc of free [?] sure] justification and redemption by the bloud and resurrection of Christ free [?] ⁶ remission of synnes, and imputation of Christes righteousness, assuranc of perseveranc ⁷ to continue unto the end; and undobted hope of the glory that shalbe reavealed, accompanied with the graces of the spirit testifying these thinges.⁸

⁹ This spirit ¹⁰ and all the operationes [?] therof I believe to proceed from Christ Jesus the head of the elect, and to bee derived [?] from him unto us his members [57 *right*] by vertue of the spirituall union that they have with him, wherby they are become bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh and branches of him that is the most fruitfull and precious vine.

Unto the former perswasion of the heart I believe that true mortification of our outward man is adjoynded, that is a true hatred of synne, sorrow and running from the same in such sort as wee eschew it leave it and avoyd it to be adjoynded, wherby ther is a slaying, a crucifying, and a killing of the old man that is the synnefull corruption ¹¹ which wee drawn [*sic*] from Adam to bee adjoynded in such sort, as this synnefull nature of ours is more and more weakned and ¹² untill at the length it bee utterly consumed by the power of the death sufferinges and buryall of Christ Jesus.

So that from this deatthes wound of our synneful nature I do believe a true hatred sorrow and running for [*sic*, from] the same ¹³ in such sort as wee eschew it leave it and avoyd in such sort as wee live in usuall [?] conflict and strif with the same untill at the length wee overcome him that had dominion over us.

¹ 'men' crossed out

² 'manifestation of the truth of the gospell' crossed out.

³ The words from 'working' to 'godlines' written between the lines, but no caret

⁴ 'Christs belonge' crossed out

⁵ Margin 'I believe that bond and free may bee Christs and that the servc which hee requreth at the handes of subjectes the same may they do and yet performe their whol duty towards theyr princes, and therfor in regard of the holy offic of the magistrat'

⁶ Edge of page, may be 'sure'

⁷ 'unto' cancelled

⁸ Margin 'This is done for us that wee shold bee freed from the world to serve him according unto his owne will.'

⁹ A false start. 'These grace of the' precedes this.

¹⁰ 'I' and a following short word cancelled

¹¹ 'nature' cancelled.

¹² Penry wrote 'and consumed', crossed out 'consumed' and wrote in the following words, leaving the 'and' standing

¹³ 'to bee' crossed out

¹ From this conjunction that wee have with our head also ariseth [?] ² true [] ³ in the love of our god and his wayes [?] ordenances sayntes, And [*sic*, in) such sort as wee are enflamed with a [57 *left*] with a true desire to glorify our god in the keeping of all his commandements and lawes, and to bee subject unto him in the ordenances wherby hee hath appoynted that his sayntes shold bee trayned up in his service.

So that wheras by nature all men are enemyes unto god and account his wisdom foolishnes I believe that by the operation [?] of the union which the elect have in Christ Jesus, they begine and goe forward more and more to love the Lord and his lawes to reverenc his ordenanc desiring to bee subject unto him in his sayd ordenances and to be united [?] in an holy union [?] with his church rather then to enjoy all the kingdomes in the world.

So that although the whole race [?] of mankynd bee in their owne nature generally fallen away in a fearfull apostacy yet I assuredly [believe] that ⁴ their hath been a remnant in all ages which have endeavored to glorify god by fighting agaynst synnes and corruptions and walking in his holy statutes and commandements.⁵

⁶ I believe that there is a company of men who declare the former operations, and especially submitt themselves unto the [] ⁷ This true remnant ⁸

This remnant did the Lord teach and instruct in all ages what they ⁹ wear to avoyd and what to love and embrace. [56 *right*]. This assurance and this operation hee ¹⁰ wrought by the power of his spirit in all his elect in all ages both in those whoe lived befor his coming in the flesh.¹¹

On p. 19 right, written in the finer hand, very small, are six lines maybe written for this treatise, perhaps a rejected alternative for a paragraph on p. 17 above, beginning, 'But the Lord god'.

Yt was was [*sic*, into] fearfull syn that he fell, yet was his ¹² falt ¹³ turned by the Lordes free and unspeakable mercie unto the unspeable [*sic*] good of the elect, for heerby the elect seed of Adame wear made capable of an heavenly lif, wheras in paradise the[y] enjoyed, and ¹⁴ continuing in innocency they shold have possessed an earthly lyf only thoughte most happy most blessed and most upright.

¹ The next 4 lines are among the most difficult to read in the notebook

² 'a true desier' crossed out

³ Two words undeciphered, the second may be 'consisting'

⁴ 'I assuredly that' written in above a caret.

⁵ 4 lines of MS crossed out:

'This remnant did the Lord in all ages teach and instruct in his true maner of his fear worship and service what they shold eschew and what to avoyd'

⁶ This paragraph written in, in very small hand

⁷ Word undeciphered

⁸ For 'how the'

⁸ As MS

¹⁰ 'had' cancelled

¹¹ Statement ceases at this point, though on the same page there is another item (see below, p. 23) in the neater hand

¹² 'the' cancelled

¹³ Or 'fall'

¹⁴ 'in their innocency' cancelled.

2. Theological notes.

A few jottings only

[60 *right*; loose hand]

1. The state¹ wherunto man is fallen

2 the meanes of his fall.

3 The guiltines brought upon him by his fall

2²

1

A wittnes³ in the kingdom and pacienc of Jesus Christ resting in hope of the glory that shalbe reaved [*sic*, revealed]

SECTION III

THE TRUE CHURCH AND MINISTRY

1. The calling of the ministry of the Church of England.

[5 *left*, the looser hand]

Would they content them selves with this calling of the priesthood yf they had Reformation?

May a man hav a pastorall calling by this meanes? then what is to bee cutt off, and what will remayn, that may any wise give the same

Canot the Lord by his writen word annihilate⁴ this to bee no calling at all?

They say that they stand by vertue of another calling, and are they so ashamed of it, that they dare not profess the same?

2. Queries about the Church under Popery.

[12 *left*, the neater hand, small]

Whether a priest preached in the tyme of Popery.⁵

Whether they be called pastors in Popery.

Whether there be⁶ Any lecturers in Popery.

3. Queries about a ministry derived from Popery.

[12 *right*; one-third down, below line across page, neater hand]

Whether it bee that our mynisters clayme their offic by their presthood and licens or by their deaconry and licenc.

¹ May be 'syne'

² These numbers as MS.

³ 'A pure wittnes' crossed out

⁴ For examples of this use, see *N.E.D.*

⁵ It is only rarely that Penry uses an interrogation mark

⁶ Capital explained by the fact that preceding words were written in afterwards

What differenc mak you between his offic that hath his presthood and a
 []¹ and between him that hath but his deaconry and lic[ense].²
 Whether Nonresidency bee not condemned in Popery.
 Whether Popery bee not at varianc as well [?] as the church of England
 Whether a mynstery polluted in part bee acceptable in the sight of god You
 must not interlard the Lordes offering with the flesh of a polluted beast³

4. The Word of God and not the law of the land to be the authority for the ministry.

[23 *left, reversed*; looser hand]

If the mynisters of England work upon the consciences of men by⁴ vertue of any ecclesiasticall offic or calling allowed⁵ by the law of the land they work upon them by vertue of an Antichristian offic and calling. For no other offic or calling but the Antichristian priesthood, Deaconry and prelacy is warranted by the law of thes [*sic*] land

But they work by vertue of an offic appoynted by lawe Otherwise hir Maesties subjectes are to reject [them] as having neyther their office and power warranted by the word nor yet by the lawes of the land

And yf they stand by vertue of a calling not warranted by lawe whie blame they us for rejecting the callinge and offic which they confesse to be warrantable [*sic*, unwarrantable].⁶ And therfor the mynisters of Ingland work upon the consciences of men by vertue of an Antichristian offic and calling. And consequently they are Antichristian mynisters.

For they are Antichristiane mynisters whosoever they bee that work upon the consciences of men by vertue of an Antichristian offic or⁷ power. And yf they bee not ashamed of Christ Jesus and his ordenances, whie shold they not derive their power offic and authority from him in⁸ the offices which he hath appoynted

5. Notes on the same subject.

[55 *left*; neater hand, very small]

Wee speak not agaynst preaching.

That a cardinalshup the presthood of lysenc [?] of the []⁹ etc. may bee an offic in the church of Christ.

They may by vertue of their offic preach only such poyntes as the lawe of the land doth allow.

¹ The many ways of spelling 'licence' are baffling This word is probably 'licence', but its ending is unlike any of the others

² Edge of page

³ Margin. 'Lev 11 43'

⁴ Word or words scored out, probably 'throughe'

⁵ For 'appoynted'

⁶ The last two lines written in, small

⁷ For 'and'

⁸ For 'and'

⁹ Difficult word, probably meant for 'divels', but the 'l' is missing

6. An apostaticall Church within the true Church.

[56 *right reversed*¹]

I beleve that their was an Apostaticall body of religion to arise in the church, that shold overthrow the offices word power sacraments mynistry² and church of Christ offices mayntenance and maner of calling I beeleve that this apostaticall church was raysted up under the name of Christ Jesus retayned the word and sacrament[s] of Christ in name³ professeth him in his natures and offices in name and yet hath erected in his stead many fals Christ[s].

I beleve that Antichrist hath appoynted a power and an offic wherby this shold bee taught and mayntayned.

The []⁴ offices I beleve that they have derived from Moses. in the mayntenanc of thes offices I beleve that⁵

7. Aphorisms on the true Church and no compromise.

[72 *left*⁶]

Wee hold our salvation by Christian servic at the Lordes handes.

Yt is no injury to deny to her priestes wee owe them not this servic. Man canot requier obedync in religion when [?] wher] the Lord []⁷ none.

Thos officers who hav no better warrant to claym their authority then from man hav no offic in the church.

Wee must in no wis[e] covenant that the glory of god may cease and that wee may leave the submission and obedync which wee ow unto him in his ordinances

Yf it wear covenanted with us that being content this year not to submitt our selves unto the Lordes worship, wee should fully possess the same the next, wee ought not to yeald, nay although wee ventured our lives by denying the condicion And yf men will persecute rather then yeald the Lord his glory, wee⁸ have no warrant but to suffer ; to mak peace wher their is presumption wee hav no warrant.

⁹ The Lord would not vouchaf any of the martyrs (almost) the honour to dy for his name untill they wear stripped of Antichristes livery, that is disgraded of their popish callinges.

The popish church wold not mayntayn the word, but when it canot raing [*sic*, raig]n] exept it have the same, shee yealdeth to reaceve it, as farr as it is not prejudiciall unto hir standing ; and so frameth the word to the mayntenaunc of hir owne witchery this word yf the Lord blesseth unto his elect, it is of his great goodnes but what is that to us wee have no warrant to reaceve it.

¹ Neat hand, very tiny, marked by a cross in the margin running the length of the item, indicating use in preparation of the indictment

² Edge of paper ; may be 'mynisters' or 'mynistries'

³ 'his natures' cancelled

⁴ Undeciphered word written in

⁵ Sentence breaks down, item ends in middle of page

⁶ Wrongly numbered 73 in top right-hand corner. A mixture of the two hands ; looks as if written at different times

⁷ Word ending in 'eth' undeciphered—not 'requireth' as might be expected

⁸ 'the' crossed out.

⁹ Space between paragraphs as MS.

¹ A shamfull thing that the Lord will require no servic at our handes, when our serving of him will bring us adversity. They who hold this ar worse then Jehanan and his proud company for they bring a new word of their private interpretation.

Many children have been deaceved by thiefes, though some have fared better, shold wee betray our fathers houses [?].

The truth of Christ and mynistry of Christ as it is his wilbe in bondag unto no Antichristian power. yf it bee yt is Antichristes truth and mynistry.

Whether of the 2 callinges ruleth which of them is at the commandement of the other Antichristes or Christes.

These offices ² not the offices ² of the church of Christ.

The church gided by these an harlott a bondwoman unto and with the ordeances of Antichrist.

SECTION IV

THE SEPARATISTS NOT SEDITIOUS

Draft of a fragment of a treatise, finally published in 1609, under the title *The Historie of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram*, the useful preface to which says ·

There comming to my hands (Christian reader) the copie of this treatise following, (wherof many copies have passed abroad in writing) I thought good (weying well the matter undertaken, & the partie by whom it was written,) to publish the same to the further view of the world

Touching the authour, Mr John Penry by name; he was a godly man, learned, zealous, & of a most Christian cariage and courage: & (as he saith of himself) borne and bred in the mountaines of Wales And wel known it is, that with all godly care & labour he endeavoured to have the Gospell preached and planted among his poore countrymen, whose case he greatly pittied & had compassion of, in that they wanted the meanes of salvation among them After all this, God using him as a further instrument for the more clear manifestation of the truth; he was hardly intreated, imprisoned, condemned, and executed; & so suffred Martyrdome for the name of Christ . . .

After describing the hasty execution, the writer continues:

Furthermore concerning this treatise, whether he had finished the whol, or was taken & intercepted, when he had thus far proceeded in it, or what he would further have done about it, I know not Wherefore if others have more of it, they shall do wel to impart it to the world, as I have done this which came to my hands. In the mean time I wish all to make good use of this part now printed, & they unto whose hands it shal come, to enterteyn it as a poore Orphane, who is left as it were Fatherles, by the authours untimely death, procured by the Prelates who as uncleane spirits hke frogges (Rev 16 13, 14) (croaking about Kings Courtes) do stir up the Magistrates & Rulers of the earth, to make warre against Gods Saintes .

¹ Margin · 'Jir 42 6 Jir 43 4'

² Or 'officers' in both places.

The text breaks off in the middle of a sentence, the publisher adding the words :

Thus much of the Copie I had, more of it I knew not where to have, whether it was finished or not, before his death, I know not, for he was apprehended, adjudged, and executed, for witnessing of the truth of Christ (howsoever any other thing was pretended against him) and (as I have heard) while he was about writing of this treatise

There is no Scripture episode to which Penry refers more often, in his printed works as in the Notebook, than the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. The story in Numbers xvi may be thus summarized, and it is easy to see how Penry 'applied [it] to the Prelacy, Ministerie and Church-assemblies of England'. Korah, Dathan and Abiram rebelled against Moses and Aaron, the chosen leaders of God, and 250 chieftains joined them. Moses appealed to the Almighty to vindicate his servants, the ground opened, and the three leaders and their followers were swallowed up.

Bancroft, of course, reversed the application: the Church and the bishops were Moses and Aaron, their critics were the rebels. The Queen, he said, was 'amongst the most famous Queenes, that ever lived in the worlde' and

the Church of England, so reformed by her Highnesse, is presently at this day the most Apostolike and flourishing Church, simply, that is in all Christendome. Howbeit let a Church be as richly planted as euer any was, before, or in the Apostles times. Let either *Moses* with his *Aaron*, or *Dauid* with all his Councillors, gouerne both the Church and the Common-wealth, as godly as euer any was gouerned: yet such is, and euer hath bene, the malice and cunning of Sathan, as that he wanteth not at any time, either will or meanes, to slaunder, to deprave, and to endanger the same. He hath his *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, that if need bee, dare presume to tell both *Moses* and *Aaron*, they take too much upon them (*Dangerous positions and proceedings*, p. 2)

Comparison between the draft in the Notebook and the printed work is so significant that we give the latter in a footnote*. The whole work will be printed in the edition of Penry's works which is in preparation.

[49 right, loose hand]

Yt is certane and aparent that this age canot well brook to have the truth manifested and spoken in the same. They have reasones whie to reject it to persecut it and to condemne it underfoot¹. Yt is not pleasant. Yt is odious. Yt is offensive.² Yt is not pleasant because it draweth men unto inconveniences, it endangereth states, it requireth alterationes, it will correct and reforme all, it is odious even for the very same cause and offensive for³. For what reason is it as men conclud that their names whoe are reverend⁴ who are godly and religious shold [have] their practises reproved and them selves condemned as violaters of god[s] morall lawes and commandementes who especially urg the observation of the same.

¹ Or 'underfeet'. Frequently Penry's 'o' and 'e' are exactly alike.

² 'Yt draweth men' crossed out.

³ Blank in MS.

⁴ Possibly 'revered'.

* It is certayne and apparant that this age cannot in any wise brook to have the truth manifested & spoken in the same, except it be by peece meales. So that if ever it were said to the Seers, *See not*, & to the prophets, *prophecie not unto us right things* [Isa 30. 10 and Jir 11. 21 quoted.]

All estates and sorts of men, high and low, have reasons why to reject the truth, why to condemne it, why to tread it under foot, and to persecute the same. It is not pleasant, it is odious, it is offensive, it is hard, knotty, uncivil, proud, haughty, and what not? It is not pleasant, because it draweth men into inconveniences, it reproveth them to their faces, discovereth their evil walking: it indangereth those that professe the same. It carrieth but a mean trayn after it.

As an aunswer unto all these frivolous cavelles of flesh and bloud we oppose ¹ once for all the very word of god and the truth thereof wherby wee dobt not but to stoppe the mouthes of ² proud flesh or to presse the same with the vengeance [50 *left*] of God for evermore. And therfor I doe heer charg thee whatsoever thow art into whose handes this present treatise shall come, that thow wouldest not presume ³ onc to open thy mouthe with the former reasones of inconvenienc, offenc, calling mens names and credit into question as a matter that shold cause the truth of god to bee beaten back smother[ed] or kept secrett by these meanes.

For whie shold not all the land ⁴ lay their handes on their mouthes when the god of heaven speaketh and labour to conforme them selves and their affectiones obedyent unto his truth and meet to reaceve the same ⁵? Shall proud man reject it because it derogateth from his ruinous ⁶? Shall proud man seek to keep it under because hee will not come under the rule line and direction of the same ⁷? Shall that bee [50 *right*] accounted odious which is most amiable most bewtifull to bee desired over fyne gold, yea of more value then the Topaz of Egipt or the perle of Ethiopia and the pure gold of the gold of Ophir. And only because vayne man hateth to be reformed by it. Shall that be accounted offensive, wherat none can possiblee stumble but proud Scribes and pharisyas, and the ⁸ ignorant and worldly mynded disciples, whoe will not stick to say unto the lorde [?] of wisdom himself [?], that his sayinges are hard and whoe cane abyd

Nay lett vayne man lerne to seek to have the Eare of the lerned ⁷ that may heer and obey whatsoever the Lord their [] ⁸ speaketh unto them. Otherwise their stumbling shalbe to their utter breaking in peeces their turning away to their

¹ 'the' and beginning of another word crossed out.

² 'all' crossed out.

³ 'to urg' crossed out.

⁴ 'land' was first written, then 'w' written over, it becomes 'world' in *Korah*

⁵ May be 'reason?' or 'reasons' though there seems to be a dotted letter *Korah* has 'ruinous credit' there is no 'credit' in the note-book

⁶ 'and the' may be crossed out

⁷ 'Lord' crossed out

⁸ Begins 'g' and probably meant for 'god', but if so misspelt

It is odious and offensive, for the same causes: It is uncivil, proud, and haughtie, because it wil correct and reform all it wil alter states. it regardeth not the years, learning, credite, wisdom, and estimation of those that stand against it, but goeth about to bring all under foot, and to make them all to stoop unto it, or els threatneth to break them like a potters vessel. it wil not be silent at their commaundement, but contrarywise enforceth them to flee her presence, and not to haue a word to speak that they dare stand unto while she is in place

These and such like are the causes why the truth of God is so meanly attended upon, and utterly cast off among men in our dayes for what reason is there (as men usually conclude) that those who in the estimation of the most, are learned, godly, religious &c. should have their practises reproved and themselves condemned as violaters of the Lords morall commandements, seing they are especially deemed to urge the observation of them?

As an answer to all these frivolous cavils of flesh and blood, I oppose once for all THE WORD OF GOD and the truth therof, wherby I doubt not but to stop the mouth of proud flesh, and to presse the same with the mace of Gods iudgements for evermore, except they imbrace and obey the truth

And therefore I do here in the presence of God & his Angels charge them whosoever they be into whose hands this present treatise shal come, that they presume not to suffer the former cavils to have passage out of their lippes, as being reasons of any force, why the truth of God

utter shame, their hard entreaty by conferences, speaches [51 left] []¹ emprisonment etc. shalbe to their everlasting perdition without the Lordes great mercy. Therfor is²

The treatise I know is for the clearing of a truth that is odious that is offensive that is hard, knotty uncivill and untoothsome.³ For it doth not only arrayng the prelacy of the land and condemne the same but also sheweth⁴ the priesthood⁵ and deaconry being the second and third member of Goge⁶ which⁷ contagiously infecteth the whole land, to bee trayterous agaynst the maiestie of Jesus, and the obedyenc therunto to bee⁸

[51 right]

Yf it bee not a truth reject it as not consonant to⁹ the word of the Lord For as to the other reasons that it is odious that it is offensive, that it condemneth those that are of greatest æstimation for godlines lerning etc. Yt is the comon badg of the truth. And therfor in opposing those thinges agaynst it, befor thou hast proved the same [],¹⁰ thou dost rather confirme it to bee a truth then any wise call the credit therof into question.

And know this that it will not bee so aunswered at thy handes, whosoever thou art eyther in this lyf or especially in the lyf to come. In this lyf because those of us amongst home [*sic*, whome] of the Lordes infinit mercy I protest my self to bee one)¹¹ will not have the word of our testimony silenced and kept secrett no not by all the power of darknes, and therefore not [52 left] by a few carnall reasones, which []¹² bee no sooner utter[ed] then they pass away as the smok and the rushing

¹ Ends 'fringes' and may be 'suffrings', but if so Penry began to write another word

² Sentence breaks off

³ Margin, the first two words and semi-colon difficult, no caret in text.

'hath proud [?]', men might gett some thing yf it [*sic*, they] could gett the truth to bee framed after their humours'

⁴ 'detect' crossed out

⁵ 'deac' crossed out

⁶ For Gog, see Ezekiel xxxviii, xxxix, Revelation xx. References in contemporary controversy are frequent Cf Robert Browne, *A New Years Gifte*, 35, and Henoch Clapham, *A Chronological Discourse touching, 1 The Church, 2 Christ, 3 Anti-Christ, 4 Gog and Magog* 1609

⁷ 'who' crossed out.

⁸ Breaks off in the middle of a sentence and of the page

⁹ For 'of'

¹⁰ This sentence is written between the lines, and the last word is unreadable

¹¹ No opening bracket

¹² Short word, undeciphered

should be beaten back, smothered and kept in, because men do account the same to be mean, odious, offensive, sterne, proud, &c For why should not all the world lay their hand upon their mouthes, when the GOD of HEAVEN speaketh, and labour to frame themselves and their affections meet to receive his truth, and to be obedient to the same? Shall proud men reiect it, because it derogateth from their ruinous credite? Shall they seek to keep it under, because they will not come under the line and direction of the same? Shall that be accounted odious, which is most amiable, most bewtiful, to be desired above fine gold, yea of more valew then the *Topaz of Æthiopia* or the *most pure wedge of the gold of Ophir* (Job 28 19), and that onely because vaine men hate to be reformed by it? Shall that be accounted proud, offensive, and haughty, wherat none possible can stumble but proud scribes and pharisees, or ignorant and worldly minded Disciples, who wil not stick to say to the Lord himself, that his sayings are hard and who can hear them? Nay let vaine men labour to have the eare of the learned, that they may break in pecies their turning away, to their shame and confusion of face, their hard intreaty

wynd And I tell thee very fier it self, and that dark swarme and [] ¹ whenc this smok myst and wind doth arise, is to bee dout² by the power of the messag that wee have in our handes, exsept it can defend it self as wee know it canot by the written word of ³ our god, and by the testimony of Jesus Christ. And wee will by laying the bright ⁴ fyer and hammer [?] of the word therunto eyther discover overthowe it and consume, or enforc the same the [*sic*, to] leave these carnall defenc,⁵ and to come unto the strength of the word to desier the ayd therof ⁶ that it may bee supported therby.

⁷ The cause is this. That [it] is unlawfull for any ⁸ of what estat calling con-dicon sex soever [52 *right*], they bee to ⁹ communicate in any action of relligion, as in hearing the truth taught in reaceving the sacramentes of baptisme and the Lord[s] Supper in prayer etc within any of the parish assemblies of this land or in any other publick meeting appoynted by law

The reasones alleadged to prove the contrary wilbe these namly That the assertion is trayterous schismaticall odious offensive that it condemne the doinges of the children of god, and the practises of the most notable servantes of Christ, and accuseth them to have all this while erred and gone astray, that it crosse the judgmentes of other reformed churches, who are better perswaded of the assemblies of the land. That excellent men saw not this and wear not of the same [mind] ¹⁰

[53 *left*]

But what is [*sic*] all these to truth? Ys it any new thing to see truth accounted traytors, yea and indighted condemned and executed for treason but ¹¹ never con-

¹ Undeciphered word, seems to end in 've'.

² 'Extinguished'—now dialect only

³ 'god' crossed out

⁴ An ampersand crossed out

⁵ Penry first wrote 'reasones', crossed it out, and substituted 'defenc' without altering 'these'.

⁶ 'for it' crossed out.

⁷ Attention is drawn to this paragraph by a marginal decoration in ink

⁸ 'man of' crossed out

⁹ 'heer the word preached' crossed out

¹⁰ 'same' is the catchword at the foot of the page It is not found overleaf Evidently 'mind' or some such word is omitted, for the obvious continuation is 53 *left*

¹¹ 'but' inserted for 'thoughe' crossed out

of the truth and those that professe the same, by revilings, slanders, imprisonments &c to their everlasting perdition, without the Lords great mercy in turning them unto him, which I earnestly wish them.

The point is

That it is unlawfull for any of what estate, sex, degree, & condition soever they be, to communicate in any action of religion, as in hearing truth taught, in receiving the Sacraments, praying &c within any of the publick meetings of the Land, as now they stand by Law And therefore that this present Parhament &c.

The reasons of the first degree alleadged to prove the contrary wil be these, namely that the assertion is traierous, seditious, schismatical that it is Brownisme, that it is odious, offensive &c, that it condemne the doings of the children of God, and the practises of the most notable servants of Christ: accuseth them all this while to have erred and gone astray: that it crosse the judgmet of reformed Churches, who are better perswaded of the assemblies of the land: that excellent and famous men sawe not this that they were of an other mind &c

But what is all this to the truth? is it any new thing to see the truth arraigned, indighted, condemned, and executed for treason and sedition, though never convinced of the same? We

victed of¹ the same. Wee look not whether kinges and princes have made their states so out of order as the truth canot come to light under their governementes but it must bee accounted trayterous, but the only thing that wee respect is whether it bee truth or not the which being found hold it wee must bring it to light wee must² defend it wee must whatsoever account mans corruption maketh therof. And therfor heer is no more sayed agaynst it but what in all ages hath been falsly uttered³ agaynst truth.

⁴ Falsly I say, Because no truth can bee trayterous to the estat of any princ or potentat and as unto this in particular⁵ yt shalbe proved to cary with the undoubted stability [53 *right*] and upholding of hir maiesties crowne and authority privileges prehemnenc and jurisdictiones without [*sic*, 'throughout' or 'within'] hir realme and dominiones and to bee accompanied with the allowanc of hir maiesties lawes yf the same might have the particular benefitt therof

Touchinge the crime of schisme,⁶ it is but an unconscionable slander yet the comon badg of the truth. Odious and offensive it hath been already granted to bee only in their eyes whoe refuse to bee guided by the line and rule of the master builder, wheras otherwise it is precious in their eyes that labour⁷ to square [?] them selves according unto the patterne of the holy sanctuary.

And to pretend agaynst truth, that it condemneth the doinges of men is to shew that shee must prevayl and bear rule yea lett all the men in the world by

¹ 'of' inserted for 'for' crossed out The MS is right against *Corah's* 'convinced'.

² 'what' crossed out

³ 'to the' crossed out

⁴ The first three lines of the paragraph marked by parallel ink lines in the margin

⁵ 'ly' at the end cancelled

⁶ 'and offenc' crossed out

⁷ 'labour' crossed out and repeated

consider not whether kingdomes and states be so out of order as that the truth cannot come to light, but it wil be accounted traiterous among them, The onely thing that we especially respect is, whether it be truth or not, the which being found, hold it we must, defend it we must, whatsoever account mans corruptions maketh therof. And therefore here is no more said against it, but what in all ages hath bene falsly uttered against the truth

Falsey [*sic*] I say, because no truth can be traiterous unto the state of any Prince or Potentate And as unto this in particular, it shalbe found to cary undoubted stability with it, for the upholding of her MAJESTIES crowne, authority, priviledges, prehemnences within all her Realmes and Dominions, and to be accompanied with the allowance of her Royall Lawes, if it might have the particular benefit of them

Touching the crime of *Browisme*, *Schisme*, &c It is an unconscionable slaunder, for truth holdeth of no creature, it is derived onely from that head in whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden, that is from JESUS CHRIST yet this I know to be the usuall badge of the truth, to be called after the names of men, to be accounted schismatical, but thereby the harts of the simple may be alienated from the same. And Satan in this latter age hath bene a marvelous cunning Rhetorician this way, there hath bene no truth brought to light, but he hath taken paines to paint it out for *Zwinglianism*, *Lutheranism*, *Calvinism*, *Browisme*, etc

Odious and offensive it hath bene already graunted to be, onely in their eyes who refuse to be guided by the line and rule of the Maister builder, wheras otherwise it is precious unto them, that labour to square themselves and their actions according to the patterne of the holy sanctuary and temple

And to pretend against the truth, that it condemneth the doings of men, is nothing els but a manifest testimony that truth is truth. who must bear rule, and bring all into order. yea, let

[sic, be] lyers and lett the Lord in his truth be justified[.] Davyd is a godly man Shall not the truth therfor condemne him as an Adulterer, shall it be sayd to Nathan, that hee is the sweet singer of Israell [54 left] a man according unto gods owne heart, that hee is well esteemed of by others, and therfor that and ¹ his doinges should not bee condemned so grievously so highly to transgress against the maiestie of god. Peter ² is the great Apostle of Jesus Christ ³ A notable instrument and furtherer of the truth of the gospell. Shall hee not therfor bee withstood in his hypocrisy to his face? Nay rather lett the credit of the captaynes of the congregation be hung agaynst the sunne, rather then their place, estimation and good opinion that men have conceived of them shold defend their whoring of the people with the daughters of moab especially their spirituall whoredome with the ordinances of Antichrist and their proud rejecting of Jesus Christ.

The item perhaps ends here, but one-third down the opposite page are two paragraphs which may be a continuation. There is nothing corresponding to them in *Korah*, and they may belong elsewhere

[54 right]

Briefly in all these things which is the whole that can bee gotten for the defence of the contrary proceedinges agaynst the cause[?] their is nothing spoken out of the Word of god, nor any one syllable brought that infringeth the truth of the assertion by the written word of god.

Nay the great and stout championes of Babell do all of them stand in their holdes lyk weomen and canot bee gotten to the combat by the word. Only the[y] pleade possession and will yeald us no reason that they dare stand unto, as purposing ⁴ to continue in their stronge holdes and imaginationes agaynst god, untill they [be] throwen downe by the mighty power of the word.⁵

¹ Penry probably intended to write 'he and his doenges', he wrote 'he sho', crossed them out, and left an ampersand standing

² 'Rather' crossed out

³ 'Shall' crossed out

⁴ Or 'proposing'

⁵ The last two lines, at foot of page, in smaller, neater hand

all men in the world be liars, and let the Lord in this truth of his ordinances be iustified and prevaile. David (2 Sam 11 17 and 12 9, 11) is a godlie man, he is the sweet singer of Israel, a man according to Gods own hart, wel esteemed of, wel reputed. may he therefore do what he wil? Peter (Gal 2 11, 14) is the notable embassadour of Jesus Christ, a great instrument and furtherer of the truth but may he therefore clayme libertie not to be withstood to his face in his hypocrisie? If this could be once graunted, that the credit of men might cover their open breach of Gods lawe, and their continuance therein, it were but vaine to bring the truth to light Nay let the credit of the captaynes of the congregation be hanged against the sunne Num 28 4, sic 25 4), rather then then place estimation and the good opinion which men have received of them should defend the whoring of the people with the daughters of Moab, especially their spiritual whoredome with the ordinances of Antichrist, and their proud reiecting of Jesus Christ

SECTION V

THE CHARGE AGAINST THE PRELATES

67 *right, reversed*, 67 *left*, 66 *right and left*, 65 *left and right*, written with the book upside down, in neater hand as a rule, but very rough and much corrected. The first paragraph only appears on 67 *right*, but the subject-matter seems to connect it with the succeeding pages

1. A reply to the prelates

[67 *right, reversed*]

The Lord the avenger of wrong [?] eyther turne your hartes from your bloody endeavours, yf you belong unto him; or overthrow you in his fierc wrath as hee overthrew Corah Dathan and Abiram, deliver hir right excellent maiestie the whole state of the land and us hir poor faythfull subjectes both from your fals ecclesiasticall and abused civill tyranny

[67 *left, reversed*]

Wee accuse you of being guilty of a greater conspiracy agaynst the maiestie of ¹ the face of god [and] the Lord Jesus, then Korah Dathan and Abiram wear agaynst Moses.

Wee charg you that you in the fear and by the ecclesiasticall power of the man of syne, that is Antichrist the great enemy of the Lord Jesus, lifted up your selves to bear rule and raigne over all that is called holy that is the whole truth of the gospell ² allowed and authorised by ³ hir right excellent maiestie and the stat of this land.

Slander [?] not yt is your ecclesiastick power which hir maiestie and the state ⁴ have established by their authority, and not ⁵ their civill power ⁶ by whome you are established which wee hold Antichristian. For hir maiesties authority power and regiment wee hold to bee the sacred ordenances of Jesus Christ

Wee charg you to bee fearfully guilty agaynst the maiestie of god ⁷ in these poyntes followinge among many others, which ar the causes of our separation from you and the assemblies of the land.

¹⁸. That you are guilty of a greater conspiracy Agaynst ⁹ the maiestie of Jesus Christ then Corah Dathan and Abiram were agaynst Moses,¹⁰ and therfor that wee dare not venture¹¹ within your tentes, that is under your fals

¹ 'Jes[us]' crossed out, and maybe 'the face' also

² 'the sacramentes' crossed out

³ 'the consciences of' crossed out

⁴ Crossed out here 'Wee charge you then [?] of retaynyng the holie [?]'

⁵ 'the' crossed out

⁶ Possibly 'or' or ampersand here, or something cancelled

⁷ Something crossed out

⁸ 'First' crossed out

⁹ For 'of'

¹⁰ Cf *The Historie of Corah*, 6 'I accuse these parish-assemblies of being guilty of a greater conspiracy against the Maiestie of Jesus Christ, then that of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram was against Moses'

¹¹ For 'fol[low]'

THE NOTEBOOK OF JOHN PENRY

ecclesiasticall jurisdiction and authority, for fear of the Lordes highe displeasure agaynst our selves soules and bodyes for evermore¹

2. That in² the name and by the ecclesiasticall power³ of Antichrist the great enemy of Christ Jesus; you have lifted up your selves to bear rule by vertue of the sayd power over the consciences of all those that are under your ecclesiasticall jurisdiction and authority, and also over all the holy thinges of god that is over the whole truth and ordenances of Christ which hir maiestie hath established in this land, and therfor that wee dare not yeald our consciences to bee wrought by you in as much as therby wee shold uphold the abhominable desolation standing in the plac wher it ought not [and] shold suffer the Antichrist to plant his thron of iniquity in our []⁴ which ar the temples of the living god. slander not⁵

[66 right, reversed]

3. That by vertue of your ecclesiasticall offices, your maner of calling unto your offices, the workes wherin you are employed by vertue of your offices, your mayntenance in them ar frome Antichrist and not frome Jesus, and therfor ought⁶ to bee abolished in all these four poynts by hir maiestie and this highe⁷ court of Parliament, and to bee avoyded of us and all the true members of Christ in the meane tyme. Becaus when []⁸ is yealded unto your offices, callinges, workes, mayntenanc, then Antichrist and not Christ⁹ Jesus is obeyed, and hearkened unto¹⁰ That you retayne the hole [sic] land within your tentes eyther by delusion¹¹ or violenc,¹² and so that you¹³ eyther seduc¹⁴ or enforc the whole land to reaceve that fearfull mark of the beast in their right handes or forheades to bee knowen by thos fearfull markes wherby the subjectes and soldiours of the beast¹⁵ that is that abominable Roman Antichrist are knowen. And therfor wee dare not be under you eyther in your offices, maner of calling unto¹⁶ your offices, workes and mayntenanc, by reason of that fearfull vengeanc decreed agaynst all thos that reaceve any of the beastes markes.

That as longe as you stand Antichrist in his institutiones, that is his offices, his maner of calling, his invented workes¹⁷ his mayntenanc ruleth in the consciences of men instead of Jesus Christ.¹⁸

¹ Line cancelled · 'That you are the knowen members'

² For 'by'.

³ 'power' duplicated

⁴ Word undeciphered, edge of page

⁵ These two words begin page, apparently intrusive, and the first uncertain

⁶ Word cancelled, perhaps 'true'

⁷ 'highe' repeated in MS

⁸ Word undeciphered, much overwritten here

⁹ Word cancelled before 'Jesus'.

¹⁰ Margin · 'we do that homage unto the beast which is due unto the ordenances of Jesus Christ'

¹¹ Word cancelled before 'delusion', perhaps 'fond'

¹² 'and persecute us [?]' crossed out

¹³ 'have imprinted the beast mark' crossed out

¹⁴ For 'delud'

¹⁵ 'and are knowen' crossed out

¹⁶ 'unto . markes' written between lines and in margin and difficult to read.

¹⁷ 'ruleth in the c' crossed out

¹⁸ New line, 'That Christ Jesus' cancelled.

4. That you will suffer none to by or sell under your jurisdiction but such as eyther¹ ar under your markes eyther secretly or openly in the 4 aforesayd poyntes. And therfor that you shew your selves to bee the second beast² that body [?] of fals prophetes mencioned Revet¹³ and consequently to bee³ avoyded of us and all the servantes of Christ.

[66 left, reversed]

5. That Christ Jesus hath appoynted other officers for his house then you are other formes of calling then you have other workes then thos wherin you are employed, and other mayntenanc for the officers of his house then that wherby you are now fed to the slaughter without your repentanc And therfor that wee hav deservedly rejected you as being abominable plantes which our heavenly father hath plan[t]ed⁴
6. That all the servantes of Christ ar bound⁵ to bee subject unto Christ to reaceve those offices⁶ callinges workes. That wee have reaceved them, and therfor also have seperated our soules [*sic*, selves] from you because wee wold not joyn light and darknes togeth[er] yeald obedyenc unto god and beliall Christ and Antichrist Heer is the cause wherin wee stand agaynst you, although wee differ from you in no one poynt of⁷ the truth established by hir maiestie⁸ Our entertaynment of you is most savag most barberous and cruel and such as shew you to be right successors of Annas and Caiphas and not of Christ Jesus and his disciples, you emprison⁹ us, it is lyk that of Diocletian Gardiner Story boner [?] the Spanish inquisition.

Wee offer our selves to convinc you befor hir maiestie and the state of the land or els to doe¹⁰ yf you will but release¹¹ your tyranny and betak your selves unto a quiet¹² trying out of the matter with us¹³ by the word of god and not by lynes awayt emprisonmentes, persecutions hunger cold nakednes bondes.

That you¹⁴ will not suffer us or any other

That we canot enjoy the presenc of god in his ordenances which hee hath appoynted to bee in his church in regard of the offices maner of callinges workes¹⁵ and mayntenances for the offices hee hath appoynted in his word, and therfor¹⁶ wee canot be permitted by your tyranny to enjoy them, wee could [?] not any wise possess them living under your ecclesiasticall jurisdiction [?] except we wold joyne Christ and Antichrist god and Beliall together.

On 65 left reversed is what seems another draft of the last paragraphs, which it may be best to introduce here

heer is the cause wherin wee stand agaynst you, And althoug wee differ

¹ 'eyther' may be cancelled

² For 'livly image' crossed out, a cancellation also after 'beast'

³ For 'of'

⁴ The last line written between lines, and very small.

⁵ 'bound' may be cancelled

⁶ 'and no other' crossed out

⁷ 'christiane' crossed out

⁸ A word cancelled

⁹ 'emprison' repeated

¹⁰ Did Penry intend to write 'die', or to add another word after 'doe'?

¹¹ For 'suffer'

¹² 'and modest[?] disputation' crossed out

¹³ 'with us' may be 'which is'

¹⁴ 'the wheras' cancelled, sentence unfinished

¹⁵ 'mayn' cancelled

¹⁶ 'therfor' is in the middle of line, and maybe sentence does not end, it may, however, carry on in the next line

from you in no one poynt of the truth that hir maiestie hath established, or any reformed church doth profess yet your dealing with us for these thing[s] is lawlesse ¹ hostile [*sic*, hostile] cruel tyranicall, savag and most barberous, lyk that of domitian, Diocletian, Gardiner,² Boner, Story, and the bloody Spanish inquisitores You ly in wayt for our bloud prison persecute revyle³ and slander us, and the truth which wee profess, unto our princ their honours and to all our native contry men [?] you []⁴ break open and rife [?] our houses in a privy dark []⁵ unbridled violent ⁶ unchristian and lawless sort You drive us from our famlyes trades wifes children, especially from the society of the church and sayntes of god wherby though you gett us not, wee our wives children and poor Orphanes live ⁷ in outward misery and distress, in ⁸ want in continuall perill and dangers of our libertyes welfare ⁹ yea and lif.

The original resumes on 65 *right, reversed*

Will you putt ane end unto all these thinges leave your starveing [?] your reviling rayling slanders and lynges awayt for our bloud and be a meanes that hir maiestie may by hir authority call you and us befor them unto an æquall triall. And yf wee eyther convinc you not to bee guilty in all the former poynts, wee will subscribe unto you and your proceedings and bee as open mayntayners of your state and dealing as wee ar oppugners therof at this present This yf you refuse to do wee tak heaven and earth to wittnes agaynst you, that you are guilty of all the diversytyes ¹⁰ in religion which are between you and us ¹¹ and so the occasion ¹² of the continuance of the controversyes raysed in this Church [?].

If you bee of Antichrist wold you have us to submitt our selves unto you, yf you bee of Christ, canot¹³ you not prove your offices and proceeding out of the word especially agaynst such weak adversaryes as you pretend us to bee.

Break in MS

Wee wold not live yf wee bee in errour, ¹⁴ our god will not suffer you to ¹⁵ stand yf you fight agaynst the truth. The day will shew you and your workes Wee fly not, wee desire ¹⁶ to aproach unto the light. Refuse you to do ¹⁷ the same? And then can you bee but the detestable brood of the kingdom¹⁸ of darknes. none¹⁹ be of the dark but of the kingdome of darknes.

The next half-dozen lines are very irregular, with sentences unfinished and difficult to read.

¹ For 'savag'

² 'Story, and the' cancelled

³ 'revyle' and an undeciphered word written in, a line about assailing and breaking open houses crossed out For 'rife' see below, p 40

⁴ Word undeciphered A good deal of writing between lines makes reading difficult 'by accusing [?] prophettes, preaching, and []' written in

⁵ 'dark' and an undeciphered word written in Margin 'observe'

⁶ 'and most' cancelled

⁷ For 'are'

⁸ For 'for'

⁹ For 'lives'.

¹⁰ For 'disturbed and disquietnes'.

¹¹ 'within hir mat' crossed out

¹² Possibly 'reason'

¹³ Looks like 'canot'; if so, a slip for 'can', the 'not' appearing later

¹⁴ 'you shall' crossed out

¹⁵ For 'of'

¹⁶ Edge of MS.

¹⁷ For 'you'

¹⁸ For 'dark'

¹⁹ 'You' crossed out before 'none'

Wee set you doune ane easy way to compass all these []¹
 Procure us to
 The spirit of god hath formed us of such as wee are the more favored [?]
 Wee canot [?] bee² called to [nor permitted ?]³ to apeal unto any seat of justic.

2. Fragment.

[43 *left, reversed*, 3 lines only, very small, with undeciphered words written between lines]

Wee charg you to bee guilty agaynst the maiestie of god in thes great and fearfull transgressiones which are the cause of⁴ our separation from the Assemblies of the land wher you rang⁵ [reign] and bear rule

SECTION VI

PERSONAL ENTRIES

These are often written in a very small hand, and often fragments only. The 'Twelve Reasons for Thankfulness' are opposite the first page of the notebook, *ie* on 1 *left*. They are difficult to read, and nos. 10 and 11 are in Welsh. In this and in the next item I have had the expert assistance of Dr. H. Idris Bell, head of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, who has helped me to decipher the entries. To him and to Sir John E. Lloyd, of Bangor, I am indebted for the translation. Sir John says the Welsh is colloquial—a Breconshire dialect. See the Introduction for the help given by the diary and fragmentary notes in reconstructing the last weeks of Penry's life. Reason 9 refers to the birth of his fourth child, which fixes the date of the item as the end of December 1592, or the beginning of January 1593.

1. Twelve reasons for thankfulness.

[1 *left*, neat hand, tidy]

1. Thy glory.
2. My tyme better spent.
3. Thy defence over me.
4. A prosperous success of my jorney to thy glory.
5. Thy blessing upon me in my writing for thy cause.
6. The deliveranc of my brethren out of prisone.
7. Favor unto thy truth befor her maiestie and to us also yf it be thy pleasur.
8. Encrease of the number of thy people.
9. Safe deliverance unto my wyf.

¹ Word undeciphered

² 'bee' may be cancelled

³ Two words uncertain

⁴ Word cancelled after 'of', maybe a second 'of' or 'ref'

⁵ The only plain letters are 'rag', but, remembering that Penry often spells 'reign' and 'sovereign' with 'n' before 'g', it may be confidently assumed that the word is 'reign' rather than 'rage'.

- 10 pethe *αγγερινδιωλ*¹ ur bywud hwn
 [Things necessary for this life.]
 11. Kyvalle um brawd 1
 [A fit mate for my brother.]
 12. Pardon for my unthankfulnes

2. 'The grievances.'

[1 *left*, loose hand]

- 1 Kepers of prison will comitt close at their owne appoyment
2. Justices will comitt keepers will keep above 24 houres.
3. They will enquier upon their owne articles by church wardens and sydemmen.
4. That wee may¹ not be indighted for recusantes being no papistes

3. Note about an appointment.

[4 *right*, near top of page, very tiny]

23 of the last moneth 2 a clock at afternoone

4. Fragmentary notes.

[13 *left*; looser hand]

- 1 The poor relieved.
- 2 The land strengthened by keeping great houses or otherwise.

5. A prayer to Heaven.

[19 *right*; looser hand]

hearken oh heaven and hear thow o Earth the quarrell which heer in the presenc of the god of that heaven² and this earth I have³ with the governors of England that will not Admynister judgment and justic unto the poor and⁴

The state of England rewardeth us evell for good.

6. A confession and a resolution.

[22 *left, reversed*, neat hand, very tiny]

o my god it is of a longe tyme that I have neglected to call upon thee and tak⁵ that conscienc of my []⁶ which I shold make. Now I purpose to beginne oh help thow mee, and lett mee heer of some relieff shewed unto my brethren for thy names sak.

¹ *Omega* written for *omicron*: it probably represents the earlier form *-awl* of the *-ol* adjectival suffix

² By cancellations and writing over this becomes 'the god that made these heavens'.

³ For 'mak'

⁴ Sentence breaks off

⁵ Possibly 'be at' or 'mak'

⁶ Word undeciphered, looks like 'noqeo', as if Penry had made a noun from *noceo* = harms, hurts, injuries, sins.

7. A Note [to Mrs. Penry?] about papers.

[56 left, all in neat hand]

Our busynesse is such as conveniently we cannot goe today but tomorrow so as early as you will, send the bundells of papers by this bearer. Let this lettre be delivered to our brother Ley¹ to be sent to the presyons

8. [Torn fragment.]

[56 left, reversed, at the corner, torn]

The
Father of
heaven he
Then they

9. A Note [to Mrs. Penry?] about Scipio Billet.

[56 left, reversed, neat hand²]

I pray you labour no less for Mr Scipio Billetes³ liberty then you would doe for myne owne, goe to the judges, and desier them, that they do not punish your oversight in his person especially, hec not being the man, whoe eyther spake with you, or⁴ sawe you in his lyf⁵ befor you delivered the supplication unto the house

¹ Nicholas Lee had been elected one of the deacons of the church, which often met in his house in Cow Lane, Smithfield, to which Penry and his wife went on 3 March. He had been a member of the congregation for some time, and his name appears among a list of those in prison in 1590. In 1593, however, he seems to have escaped examination and arrest, and Burrage (*EED*, 1, 184) argues that subsequently he became pastor of the remnant of the church left in London, and was alive nearly thirty years later. His wife was also a member of the church, and the name of Thomas Lee also appears. Nicholas Lee had young children, who were baptized at the meetings.

² Across middle of page, marginal cross in ink, and no doubt used in the trial.

³ Scipio Bellot (the name is variously spelt) was convicted on 23 March 1593, with Robert Bowle and Daniel Studley, for publishing and dispersing the seditious books Barrow and Greenwood had devised, and for which they were convicted, all five were sentenced to death the next day. Attorney-General Egerton reported to the lord keeper that all of them protested their loyalty to the queen, and denied the books were seditious, being not against the government of the land, but against the bishops. 'None showed any tokens of Recognicon of theyr offence and prayer of mercy for the same, sauung Bellott alone, who desyreth conference and to be informed of his errors and with teares affyrmeth hym selfe to be sorye that he hath bene mysled.' Be that as it may, he and Bowle 'died a while after in prison in Newgate' (*An Apologie or defence of such true Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists*, 1604, p. 95), and his name appears in the Brownists' *True confession of faith* (1596) among '24 soules [that] have perished in their prisons within the Citie of London only'. He is probably the Stephen Byllet to whom Barrow, in his examination on 20 March 1593, said he gave two letters in his handwriting to be copied. He is called 'gentleman', and is perhaps the brother of Arthur Bellot, 'a Scholler and a Souldier', who had been partly instrumental in getting some of Barrow and Greenwood's books printed at Dort. Arthur was taken with Penry on 22 March, and when examined in April said he was 25 years old, and came from Llanteglos in Cornwall. Foster describes him thus. 'of Cornwall, gent. Exeter Coll, matric 30 July, 1585, aged 18'. Scipio does not appear in Foster, who has many later Cornish 'Bellotts'.

⁴ Word scored out, probably the first three letters of 'delivered'.

⁵ Blot obscures word, which looks like another 'befor'.

10. Fragments of a diary, 1592-93.

Marked in ink all down the margin with ornamental emphasis at head of line, and some entries specially marked. Partly in Welsh, with one name transliterated into Hebrew

[49 *left*; neat hand, small]

The 12 moneth December 1592

14 I cam Mr. Edwardes¹ and Jones² being with mee from London about one of the clock, to Reading at Mr Chorltones I lay Inclining³

15. At Arglwûdes⁴ West, wher shee and I could not agree in sum poyntes. Inclinaire To Mrs. Coonlyf [?] and Mrs Watkines.

16. I would hav gone away but they entreated us to stay, because sum of Neubery would confer with mee. but agree wee could not, the priesthood they eyther saw not or would not leave, and therfor the next day being the Sabaoth Although

17 I stayed ther and taught both fornoone and afternoone, yet they of Neubery no not thos⁵ (twoo that wear with mee the day befor) wold not come to hear mee teach.

From the 17th to the 23rd the entries are in Welsh, which makes the small hand doubly difficult. A day-by-day translation is given

18. u du Robert i ר״ר am lawer o nos grouso mawr

[To the house of Robert Harris [Harrises] for much of the night a great welcome]

19 Shon a Shankin a dringasson uno guda mi hedhu [= heddiw] skrivenais at Mr. Goodman.

[John [Edwardes] and Jenkin [Jones] arrived there with me to-day. I wrote to Mr. Goodman.]

20. hwu authon u gerdded & [?] archwûd ym dwad am supper u di Domas Wilkines mi a dau tho onud yr gegin ur antho ag uno y trigais wers onud nu lewais dhim cwumpodd ceful Shankin ur clawad [?] ag yutau gudag ef

[They went for a walk, and I was asked to come to supper to the house of Thomas Wilkines. I came only to the kitchen, and there I stayed awhile, but I ate nothing. Jenkin's horse fell into the ditch and he with it.]

¹ See Introduction and the letter to Christopher Goodman, below, pp 41-44

² Jenkin Jones was a kinsman of Penry's; he was mixed up in the Martin Maiprelate business

³ *I.e.*, inclining to accept Penry's views?

⁴ *Arglwûdes*, Welsh = 'Lady'. *At*, if Welsh = 'To'. So may be 'To Lady West'. Attempts to discover any 'Lady West' have so far failed, nor are the other names under this entry identifiable

⁵ Possibly 'thes', after this word is an erasure, looks like 'tw'

21. m a superasam yu hu William Sunmer.
[We had supper at the house of William Sunmer.]
22. Daeth Mr. Smith attaf 1 ag m a guscascam yughûd yu hû Thom Wilkines.
[Mr. Smith¹ came to me, and we slept together at the house of Thom Wilkines]
- 23 Aeth ef û dref oddawrthaf.
[He went home from me]

[Diary February and March 1593]

The 5 came Jones with Deliverance²

1. The sixt of the week departed Roger Rippon our brother.
2. The last he was caryed to justic Younges door and their left in a coffine with a paper. 7. Christopher Dickens and Mrs Lee were emprisoned for it the one in the counter and the other in Newgate. [Before the '7', which is for the 7th day of the week, is an erasure, and written above, very small, the words, 'Mr. Bellet delivred the letter. Mr Smith [?] was with me']
- 3³. Mrs Lee delivered out of prison being the Lordes day.
4. 1. Mrs. Lee evell handled by justic Yong their house broken the man charged of treason and yet left at home.
- 5 2 Mr. Jonson []⁴ assayled by a pursuivant he escaped Mr. Smith feared to bee taken the lettere had a roughe aunswere The church mett not.
- 6 3 The supplication went to the Starr Chamber the Lord grant it a happy and a blessed success I was at []⁵ The supplication had no success it was not delivered I came to Mr. Allen.
7. I stayed their.
8. I received [?] from my brother Barrow.
9. I went from Mr. All[en]
10. Being the Lordes day wee mett in the []⁶ Mr. []⁷ & Mr. Chadderton with Mr. Jonson.
11. I cam agayn to Mr All[en] I sent to Mr. Jonson.

The 3 moneth the

4. The church taken yet I escaped.
10. the suplication delivered to the upper and lower house.

¹ Probably William Smith, minister, of Bradford in Wiltshire, a man of about Penry's age, who, when examined on 5 April, 1593, said he had come to London to confer with Johnson, Greenwood, and others, and had been in prison for about eight weeks on suspicion of being concerned in the coffin episode. On April 3 John Dalamore of Bath said he had heard Smith and others preach at Keynsham and other places in Somersetshire

² Deliverance was Penry's eldest child

³ 3 and 4 marked in margin by parallel lines in pencil, and a cross in ink.

⁴ Word undeciphered ? 'sorelie', 'sternlie'.

⁵ These four words all very small indeed, only the 'I' is certain, the fourth is quite unreadable

⁶ Ends in 'd', may be 'wood', but the first letter looks like 'K'

⁷ Short name, ending 'th', should be identifiable, but has proved elusive

11 Mr. Barrow and Mr. Billet rifled [?] ¹ in the Fleet the Lordes day.

12. my letter delivered to the Tresurer.

13

SECTION VII

PERSONAL LETTERS

1. Draft of letter to the Church.

[4 *right*, small hand, a line scored out at the beginning, apparently irrelevant]

What issue soever may be of my labours at [*sic*, and] endeavours at this present in the overthrow not only of the horrible and polluted ordenances of Antichrist,² but also in the casting downe of that which I myself have in tymes past bilded amisse I³ know not, but hereof I ame assured, that my righteousnes in this poynt shalbe with the Lord and my work with my god I know that amongst men⁴ whoe look with an eye of flesh yt wilbe thought strang that a mans owne credit shold not bee precious in his eyes. But for my part I wey not mans judgment as [?] this is my care as I shall aunswer befor the just judge, that in that day I may bee found to have been faythfull in my generation Whether the same be prejudiciall unto my credit or not I esteem it not For let [the]⁵ Lord in his⁶ righteous ordenances bee true⁷ though all the men in the world bee lyers

For what I now doe I do it only as I shall aunswer before the juste judge to the end that the Lord may be found true and just in his righteouse ordenanc though I and all the men in the world be found lyers and untrue deacevers and being deaceved.

I have in tymes passed beloved held⁸ the preachers of the church of England⁹

[5 *right*]

It wilbe no tyme beloved in the Lord when the door is shutt for men to recall what they have done amiss in this lyf heer only

Blank space, and then a single line and an ampersand, leaving sentence unfinished.

¹ In the Dedicatory Epistle to *A Plaine Refutation of M Giffards Booke* (1591) addressed to Cecil, Barrow and Greenwood used the word, saying

'But in stead of this christian course, they have shut us up now more then three yeares in miserable and close prisons from the aire, from all exercise, from all company or conuersation with any person, from all meanes so much as to write, ynncke and paper being taken and kept from us, and a diligent watch both by our keepers held over us, and also continuall searches upon one pretence or other made, where wee were *rifled* from tyme to tyme of all our papers and wringings they could finde'

² Margin 'What I have done in the weaknes of my judgment ought to bec no rule [?] unto my religion' This may be intended to replace two lines scored out, perhaps '[?] the restraynt of the submission that without all warant of conscience is by all men ycalded therunto'

³ Crossed out 'I heer [?] refer that unto the Lord'

⁴ Three words scored out

⁶ Began 'ord[enances]' and crossed it out

⁷ 'and lett' crossed out, and nothing substituted

⁹ Sentence stops, and nothing more on this page

⁵ 'all the men in' crossed out

⁸ 'it lawfull' cancelled

The servic of the god of Israell hath been in tymes past and

Another blank line

¹ What the uprightnes of myne heart hath been towards the glory of the god of Israell his maiestie ² who searcheth all heartes and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughtes knoweth best. Those also ³ besydes myne owne conscienc whoe have been conversant with mee or any wise read my writinges in tymes passed ⁴ may bear wittnes with mee that ⁵ I have been so caryed with a desier [?] unto his honour, that rather then hee shold not bee worshiped at all I have ⁶ wished men to offer unto him in an uncleane vessell judging that althoughe I know that servic to bee unseeming his maiestie whoe is the great king and Lord of heaven and earth, that holy it might stand untill the iniquity of the tyme wold permitt the holy vessell shold bee made according unto the patern ⁷ seen in the mount

2. To one with no deepnes of earth

[68 *left, reversed*, loose hand]

I perceave sir that you are of their number whoe are soone drawn unto the truth and soone seduced, and therfor ar of the nature of them growen by the highe way which hath neyther deepnes of mold nor sapp in regard of moysture. And therfor I advise you to look unto your owne hearte and to your owne vomitt betymes. This is not the last fall nor the most fearfull (though also overfull fearfull and over shamefull in regard of your earnest contrary protestation) that doth abyde you exept you look ⁸ unto that great deal of corruption which I fear lyeth at your heart, and therfor in the fear of god I admonish you agayn to ⁹ look unto that closett. Yt is not the delusion of any priest in the land that wilbe able to stand agaynst the clear evidenc of the truth whenas [?] our god hath ordered us agaynst them even in this lyf, but how smally effectuall their Seducementes can be in the land of uprightnes ¹⁰ judg you

They say that they have the word, and teach the truth,¹¹ so did the divell, soe did the [] ¹² in most substantiall poynts, and ¹³ wee say agayn that they nether dare nor can mak this truth to bee wholsome doctrine unto their hearers.

3 Draft of letter to Christopher Goodman, 19 Dec. 1592.

A fair copy, beautifully written, and the easiest item to read in the notebook. A marginal line in ink, headed by an emphasis decoration, runs down the whole margin of the first page (70 *left*). The first eight lines of the second page (70 *right*) have no marginal line, unless it be a faint one in pencil, the last four lines of the letter have a double pencil mark

¹ '1 Chron 28-9' in margin the reference seems to be to the two chapters

² For 'ey' crossed out

³ 'whoe' crossed out

⁴ 'know that' crossed out

⁵ 'rather' crossed out

⁶ 'thus' crossed out

⁷ 'patern' and 'calling' written one above the other It is not clear which Penry intended to stand

⁸ 'no' cancelled

⁹ For 'unt[o]'

¹⁰ For 'the living'

¹¹ 'teach' written in

¹² Undeciphered word.

¹³ 'the' cancelled

[70 left] To the Reverend Mr. Christopher Goodman,¹ an auncient witnes² and souldyer of Christ Jesus, these bee delivered

Sir, I haue often determined to haue conferred with you mouth to mouth and I would haue bine glad if it had pleased the lord to haue accomplished my purposes in that behalfe³; The cases are of especiall waight in these tymes wherin I and some others of my brethren would be glad to haue either your consent, or your reasons whie we are not to be accorded unto. We are likely either to be convinced by the word, to suffer unto blood or to prevaile over all our adversaries and to procure even outward peace by the word of our testimony. Such as will goe about to repell us by the word we find none, our sufferinges and daungers encrease, owtward tranquillity then we are not likely to obtayne how just so ever our cause bee and yet we doubt not but to be more then conquerours. The cause wherin we stand is, That

They cannot haue the patienc and faith of the Santes but shall participate of the feirce wine of the wrath of almightie god, whosoever they be that haue any communion or fellowship with the relligion of the Romane Antichrist or receaue any of his markes Rev 14. 9 10

Yt is unlawfull to offer any offering (though never⁴ so pure in it selfe) unto the god of Israell in the polluted and uncleane vessels or callinges⁵ invented and retayned for the worship of Sathan in Babell. Because Yt is abomination unto the lord our god to do any thing in his service, that those Idolatrous nationes did unto⁶ their godes,(a)⁷ and that the pollution of the unholye skirt polluteth the cleane offering; wheras the holines and purity of the offering can in no wise hallow and sanctifie the uncleane skirt. Haggai 2 13. 14.

¹ For Goodman, see DNB, C H Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, work on him to be published by Dr A F Scott Pearson, author of *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Presbyterianism*, and especially J H Colligan, *William Whittingham of Chester*

Goodman (1519-1603), after graduating, was appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford; in exile at Strasburg, Frankfort (where he had a share in the 'Troubles') and Geneva, in the latter place he became pastor of the English congregation, his colleague being John Knox. The two were close friends, and they were friends in adversity, drawing upon them the wrath of Elizabeth by their publications, Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, and Goodman's *How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may lawfully by Gods word be disobeyed and resisted*. In 1559 Goodman went to Scotland, becoming minister at Ayr and St Andrews successively, and it was not until 1565 that he ventured into England. In 1570 he received a living at Alford, near Chester (his native place, of which he received the freedom in 1581), but the following year he was deprived for nonconformity, and obliged to make a full recantation of his published opinions. From this time until his death he seems to have lived in Chester, taking a prominent part in the life of the city. His family apparently had considerable means, and he had powerful protectors, but his own character and learning won him general respect. He was known to hold his views tenaciously. In 1578 when pressing for the appointment of Chadderton to the diocese, Aylmer urged Hatton to help in sending 'a governor to that place, which, I fear, as an unruly family without a steward, will by this long delay be hardly drawn to good order. There is in that county one Goodman, not unknown to her Majesty, who in the vacation will build one way more than the Bishop shall a good while be able to pull down in that kind of curiosity'

² 'of Christ Jesus' crossed out

³ For 'regard' crossed out.

⁴ Two letters crossed out after 'never'

⁵ May be 'callinge'

⁶ For 'the lord' crossed out

⁷ Marginal reference. '(a) Deut. 12. 30 31. 32'

Our cause furthermore is, That

Yt is unlawfull for any to exercise a ministry or to submitt themselves unto any exercise of religion within the tentes and under the accursed jurisdiction of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, although they agree in the substance of religion with Moyses and disagree only touching the point of the outward calling; Because that upon what pretence soever this be done, yet can it be nothing, but to be of the conspiracy of Korah wheras he should be withstood to his face.

Lastly the cause¹ wherin we stand is That

Wee must in no wise covenant that the glory of god may cease and yeald that we may leaue the submission and obedience which we owe unto him in any of his ordinances in respect herof we hould our selues bound to adventure our lues rather then not to haue Christ Jesus to raigne over us in his ordinances, notwithstanding that all the Princes and creatures in heaven or in earth do prohibite us so to doe.

The evidenc of these thinges being cleare unto our consciences. First wee hould it utterly unlawfull for any man to heare the word taught or to communicate in any other action of religion in any parish assemblie in England as they now stand Because the whole worship is performed not within the tentes of Korah and by those who are of his conspiracy which were abominable, but within the jurisdiction of the prelacy and preishood [*sic*] of the kingdome of Antichrist, and that by those who are the officers of that kingdome, that is Prelates preistes or deacons which is a more fearfull case then the former.

For you know I am sure that the holy vesselles, the offices I meane ordayned by the sonne himselfe to minister before his father, are cleane banished out of the assemblies of this land, which also never enjoyed them, and that the vesselles appointed by the angell of the bottomles pitt, that is the prelacy preisthood deaconry and the hired mercenary lektures which are after the stampe of the stigmatized locustes, are the only callinges² receaved in this church

Secondly we account our selues bound to practise the whole ordinances of god in the ministeryes which he hath appointed in his word and to submitt ourselues therunto.

Now if in any of these pointes yf you or any els can shew that we erre, we wilbe most glad to reforme our iudgements and to recall our practise But if as we are undoubtedly perswaded we hould the truth of god and nothing but the same in the premisses we judge it to be the duty of all the servantes of god, and yours in particular, whom he hath notably employed in his service for the throwing downe of Babell, even then when she was in her³ greatest strength, to joyne with us in this worke; or at least wise⁴ not to justifie the whores proceedinges by trafiguing with any of her wares.

Some other thinges wherin I judge our Babell to be like her selfe in her best partes, you shalbe made acquainted with by my loving and faithfull brother Mr.

¹ For 'case' crossed out

² Or 'callinge'

³ 'in her' repeated in carry-over from p 70 left to p 70 right

⁴ 'wise' may be crossed out

Edwardes the bearer hereof. And I would earnestly craue you to impart your mind unto him, if you will not write touching all these pointes

The lord our god who is a man of warr and hath all power in his handes aveng the quarell of his covenant and the quarell of his temple¹ against Babel and hir daughters and blesse you togeather with all his elect. Amen The 19 of the 12. moneth december 1592 In so inconvenient a state as I could not write over this letter againe, and therefore beare with the []² thread of it³ I pray you.

Resting yours wholly in the lord.

SECTION VIII

A SUPPLICATION AND A PETITION

1. A supplication of the persecuted Brownist Church delivered to parliament, 10 March 1593.

This is a draft of Harl MS 6848, p 150, printed in Burrage, *EED*, II, 109-13. It was written after the arrest of the congregation on the previous Sunday (*Cf* the entries in Penry's diary, above, p 39 'Mar 4 The church taken, yet I escaped Mar 10 the Supplication delivered to the upper and lower house') This draft enables us to solve the vexed question of authorship F J Powicke, *Henry Barrow*, pp 64-5, quotes Miles Micklebound, *Mr Henry Barrowes Platform* (1611), to the effect that 'the draught of it' was in Barrow's own writing, 'and some copies also', and goes on, 'internal evidence would of itself suggest this It has all his eloquent redundance of word and phrase raised to a white heat of passion Who but Barrow was capable of the opening sentences?' The close, though not so audacious, is a rich specimen of his invective

But W Pierce, *John Penry*, pp 379, 490, equally boldly claims the authorship for Penry, saying of the congregation after their arrest 'his experienced and facile pen was at their service to draw up their supplication There is a petition, long ascribed to Henry Barrowe, after the original error of the writer of *Barrowes Platform*, which we recognize as the composition of John Penry In any case it could not have come from Barrowe's pen Its writer is among those who are still free . It is quite unlike Barrowe's manner' but from the very first sentence to the last the style of Penry is marked . There is a slip in the date given, which may not be Penry's error, for it is given as the Lords day last, being the 3 of this 4 moneth 1592[3]'

The doctors thus disagree, and on internal evidence Such evidence would unhesitatingly lead us to attribute the Supplication to Penry, certainly in the form in which it appears in the Notebook, but may it not be that Pierce goes too far, that Penry may have submitted this and similar drafts to Barrow in prison, and that it was Barrow's revision which was submitted to Parliament? This would explain the copies in Barrow's handwriting True, he was for many years 'in close prison', but there were periods of relaxation, and perhaps his means brought alleviations and a blind eye from his gaolers Certainly he wrote much in prison, and his manuscripts were smuggled out to the printer in Daniel Studley's examination there is a reference to Barrow's prison study which strikes the modern reader—unless he happens to think of Sir Oswald Mosley—as unusual he deposed that he had received the original of one book 'sheet by sheet at Mr Henry Barrow's study in the Fleet'

Barrow would thus find little difficulty in working over Penry's draft. The Harleian version

¹ For 'covenant' crossed out

² We should expect 'loose', but the word looks like 'hoosh'

³ 'therof' crossed out

has some additions, but not a great many. 'unbayleably', we should guess, comes from Barrow. Students will find a comparison of the two drafts suggestive. Powicke strangely failed to note that 4 March 1592 is 1592/3. The mistake Pierce mentions (3rd of the 4th month for 4th of the 3rd) does not occur in the Notebook, which has its own mistake! Nor is it in Burrage's copy, but it would be characteristic of Burrage to correct a manuscript without indication.

The item altogether well illustrates the problems the Notebook presents. At first glance it appeared that the Supplication began on 35 *left* and ran on through 35 *right*, 36 *left* and *right* and 37 *left*. But in transcription this form seemed unusually redundant, and far from homogeneous. After long consideration it seemed that the Supplication proper occupied 35 *left* and 36 *left*, that 35 *right* is part of a petition to another quarter, incorporating many of the same facts and perhaps intended to have a similar introduction, and that 36 *right* and 37 *right* belong to petitions to Burghley of a later date. Prolonged examination of the Notebook has not enabled them to be placed with any confidence, and they are printed separately.

The Harleian version is headed 'The humble, most earnest, and Lamentable Complaint and Supplication, of the persecuted and proscribed Church and Servantes of Christ, falsely called Brownists. Unto the high Court of Parliament'. This does not appear in the Notebook, the Supplication starting eight lines down p 35 *right*, immediately after other sentences (below, p 77)

[35 *left*; neat hand, small, a good deal of correction]

The Everlvinge god most highe god possessor of heaven ¹ R. honorable bringeth befor your Lordshipes of this highe [Court] his ² owne cause his owne people, his owne sworne though treacherous enemyes the most shamfull usag of his truth and servantes, that hath been heard of in the dayes of Siones peac and tranquility. his cause and people in our profession and persones he offereth unto ³ his enemyes and their outrag ⁴ agaynst his truth and subjectes in the persones ⁵ [and] bloody proceedinges of the prelates of this land. hee requireth on our behalf and wee in his name but eyther that wee may dy openly, or live openly in the land of our nativity

Wee profess the same fayth and truth of the gospell this day which hir maiestie this state,⁶ and all the reformed churches this day under heaven do profess, wee go further then they goe ⁷ in the destation [*sic*, detestation] of all Popery that most fearfull Antichristian relligion,⁸ and draw neer[er] in some thinges unto Christes holy order and institution.

This is our cause. For the profession wherof their are of us almost fourscore persones ⁹ men and women yong and old lying in cold hunger dungens and irons only in the prisones about London ¹⁰ not to speak any thing of other prisons of the land. Their of [*sic*, are] towards the number of some 56 ¹¹ taken the last Lordes

¹ 'most . heaven' written above, 'Everlvinge god' not cancelled

² For 'the' ³ 'which are fals' cancelled ⁴ For 'ev[il]' cancelled.

⁵ Some words, including 'of' and 'dread' cancelled

⁶ After 'maiestie' Penry wrote 'and all the', realized he was getting to the reformed churches too quickly, and, in writing after 'state' 'doth profess and mayntayn, wee agree', forgot them, and had to cancel the words just written

⁷ For 'befor them in some' and 'in some poyntes touching'

⁸ 'wee' cancelled. Margin: 'lord holy and true how long lord holy and true thou knowest'.

⁹ 'lying in great outward misery in the prisones about London' cancelled. Six or seven lines here have a marginal line in ink

¹⁰ 'besides many others of [them] in other prisones of the land' cancelled

¹¹ For '58' Perhaps the sentence was intended to read: 'Thereof towards the number of 56 were taken'

daye being the 4 of 2 month March¹ towards the number of 56² hearing the word of god truly taught, and praying and praysing our god for his favours shewed unto us hir maestie your honours and this whole land, and desiring our god to bee mercifull unto us unto our princ, and to our contrey. Being employed in thes actiones wee³ wear taken in the place whear the holy martyres wear enforced to use the lyk holy exercises in the dayes of Queen Mary⁴. The former number⁵ ar comitted unto close severall prisoness by the bishop⁶ of London and his []⁷. Ther they ly in hunger cold nakedness. This bloody man⁸ and his assistanc will neyther allow them meat drinck fyer bedding nor suffer others that will do the same to have any access. [36 left]

The wif and the husband ar severd⁹ not so much as permitted¹⁰ to bee together in the same prisoness, but ar sent and closly kept in diverse prisoness, some of this number had not one peny about them when they came in nor any thunge being abrod to procure them selves and their familyes any mayntenanc but by their handes labour. Godes enemyes by this meanes, do not only starve and undo a number of men and wemen in the prisoness, but even a lamentable company of orphanes and pood [*sic*, poor] and fatherless¹¹ children abroad.

The dealing¹² most inhumane most barberous especially most unchristian and such as¹³ exedeth the cruelty of the heathen, and the professed popish tyrantes and persecutors. The¹⁴ recordes of the heathen persecution under Nero, Trajan,¹⁵ Maximian¹⁶ will scant offered [*sic*] us any examples of the lyk cruelty. For the heathen Roman[s] themselves cold murther openly¹⁷ and professedly. Thes godless men have put the blood of warr about them in the day of that peac and truce which the hole [*sic*] land hath professed to mak with Jesus Christ. Bishop Boner, Story, Weston etc. delt not after this sort. Those whome the[y] committed close they wold also feed, or permitt to bee fed by others. Bishop Elmer, D. Stanhop Mr. Justic Young.¹⁸ No felons no murtherers, no traytors ar delt with after this sort. Yf wee

¹ 'the mo' is crossed out The 2 is quite clear. Burrage reads 'the 4th of this 3 Moneth March 1592', as does the Notebook on the next page

² 'doing nothing but' cancelled

³ Ink at end of line faded, word after 'actiones' may be 'none'; Harl MS has 'these holy actions and no other'

⁴ 'and that for Wee All that wear taken of us being befor the bishop' crossed out.

⁵ 'of us are at' crossed out

⁶ 'the bishop' duplicated, one cancelled.

⁷ Word written between lines difficult, just possibly 'abbetter', though last letter looks like 'c'

⁸ 'will cause' crossed out

⁹ 'will' crossed out

¹⁰ Two letters cancelled.

¹¹ Some erasure here, either 'and fatherless and motherless' is intended, or 'and fatherless' is repeated

¹² 'most barberous' crossed out

¹³ Cancellations suggest Penry intended to write 'scarce can be matched', crossed out 'sca', wrote 'cannot be matched', and then cancelled that

¹⁴ Three words crossed out

¹⁵ A 'd' crossed out suggests 'domitian' or 'diocletian' was begun

¹⁶ A mark after Maximian may be 'I', 'offered' may be for 'offer' or 'afford'

¹⁷ 'Bishop Boner' crossed out

¹⁸ No end to sentence 'doe neyther of these' in Harl MS In the margin is a cross in ink covering about seven lines of the manuscript, and underneath seven words scrawled across diagonally: 'let the punishment be retayned upon our selves' Stanhope was the Bishop of London's Chancellor For Young, see below.

bee any wise malefactors, yf they [*sic*, wee] bee not true subjectes unto our princ, let us be comitted over unto the civill magistrates.¹ And lett not our enemyes both accuse condemne and punish, agaynst law æquity and conscienc wheir they are the accusers,² judges, the parties, and the executioners. They shold not by the law of this land goe any farther then their ecclesiasticall censures, in matters of religion and then comitt us unto the magistrates. wee crave but that [36 *left top*]
³ The prelates shold goe no farther then their ecclesiasticall censures. They leave that, and betak them unto bloud We crave but what is most æquall eas[e] from troble or æquity in the triall eyther of our guiltines or inocency. Yf we prove not our adversaryes to bee in an evill cours and our selves to hold one the right way, wee desier not so much ⁴ our allegiāc unto hir maiestie wee prov to bee such upon the danger of our lives, as of all the people in the land wee will shew ourselves the ⁵ Their are many of us still in nomber ⁶ abroad out of their handes. The former holy exercise and profession wee purpos not to leave ⁷ by the ayd ⁸ of our god, and therfor streames of inocent bloud ar lyk to bee spilt for this cause exept hir maiestie ⁹ and your Lordes do tak other order. wee crave both for our selves abrod ¹⁰ [and] for our brethren but the liberty ¹¹ eyther to dy openly or to live openly in the land of our nativity. Yf wee deserve death it beeseemeth the maiestie of justic not to have us closely murdered, yea starved to death with hunger, cold ¹² and stifled in close and noysome dungeons Yf wee bee guiltles wee crave but the benefitt of our inocency.

Thus testifying our inocency crying for justic one the behalf and in the name, of the righteous judg the god of heaven and earth ¹³

2. Part of a petition to the council [?] probably written at the time of the supplication to parliament, March 1593.

[35 *right*; neat hand, small and crowded ¹⁴]

For our partes we never purpose to leave the cause, streames of inocent [?] ¹⁵ bloud, are lykly to bee spilt ¹⁶ for the same, the Lord will reckon for it. Our contrey rewardeth us unkindly. Wee desire the salvation therof, and that it may bee delivered from the yok of Antichrist. They persecut ¹⁷ us for the same. Wee have

¹ 'The' and the beginning of another word crossed out

² Word or beginning of word crossed out

³ This paragraph is written at the top of the page in seven very crowded lines. It was evidently intended for insertion, but there is no indication where, it follows naturally at this point

⁴ Sentence does not end

⁵ Sentence does not end.

⁶ Perhaps Penry realized in time that it would be unwise to give information the authorities would have been glad to have

⁷ Margin 'wee may as lawfully as our fathers in Queen Maryes dayes'

⁸ For 'grace'

⁹ 'hir maiestie and' written above, very tiny

¹⁰ 'abrod' written twice, with a cancelled 'and for' between them

¹¹ A sentence cancelled 'wee [] that but that wee may be permitted eyther'

¹² 'nakednes' crossed out

¹³ Ends here

¹⁴ Four times marked in margin. Perhaps the beginning was to be similar to that of the Supplication

¹⁵ Ink faded at end of line, may be other words after 'inocent[?]'

¹⁶ 'spilt' duplicated

¹⁷ Possibly 'present'

as good warant to fight agaynst the ordenances of Antichrist now remayning and to labour for the recovery of the ordenances of Christ, as they had in Queen Maryes dayes our usage is harder [?] wee complayne of their violenc and that unto your honours¹ our priestes murther by the way by consent,² they arr a nett spread upon tabor³ the Lord will right all their workes yet must they not bee rebuked They have putt the blood of warr in the day of peace⁴ and trus made with Jesus Christ they have washed their hand in the lyf bloud of his sayntes.

⁵ They have the last Lordes day being 4 of the .3. moneth march 1592 The bishop of London hath comitted of them about 60 persones yonge and ould men and weomen. They are in close prisonnes. They will neyther allow them meat, drinck,⁶ fier nor yet suffer their friendes to come unto them Som have not a peny benge now in close prisonnes to provid them so much as one peec of breade their god whoe hath given them their bodyes and soules will bee avenged of their enemyes and of your Lordshupes⁷ yf you help them not when you may.

⁸ The wif is seperated frome the husband into diverse prisonnes neyther of them having so much as bread to eat. Boner delt not in this sort. Thos whom hee comitted close hee also fed or permitted to bee fed. Elmer, Stanhop, Mr Justic Yong will do neyther.

⁹ Wee desier the liberty eyther to dy openly or live openly in the land of our nativity. Yf wee deserve death it beseemeth not the maestie of the sword of justic¹⁰ to have us closly murthered, yf wee bee inocent shall wee not bee released¹¹ Wee know the next supplication agaynst us wilbe without the Lordes great mercy written with the bloud of this land eyther (as god prohibit) eyther by the forayn conspiracy of the Spayneard or by domestick sedition, yf it bee the cause is just, hee doth but mak inquiry for []¹² Our cause are [*sic*] the Lordes, our enemyes the Lordes, your honours of this highe assembly are also the lordes lieutenantes to see æquity and justic done unto all her maesties subjectes. our entertaynment most barbarous most inhumane especially most unchristian wee come for æquity and justice in the name of the god of judgement and justic, and that agaynst the most Barberous, most inhumane, especially most unchristian and bloodthirsty dealing that ever was sync England was¹³ accounted a christian nation. Their are of us about 76 persones men and weomen yong and ould at this day in the prisonnes¹⁴ about London, comitted¹⁵ only for the profession of Christ[s] gospell, and the refusing of Antichristian and popish corruption. noe felones, no murtherers, no traytors ar thus hardly used.

¹ Preceding sentence written in, very small

² Hosea vi. 9

³ Hosea v. 1

⁴ 1 Kings 11 5 These references are given as a reminder of the extent to which Penry relied upon Scripture

⁵ The first two lines of the paragraph marked in margin by a double pencil line, sentence breaks down after '1592'

⁶ 'loging' crossed out

⁷ This threat is the kind of direct attack, called courage by his friends and folly by his foes, which characterizes all Penry's writings He never tones down his opinions when he is writing to the powerful The threat does not appear in the Harl. MS

⁸ Paragraph marked by a marginal ornament in ink

⁹ Two parallel pencil lines in margin of this paragraph.

¹⁰ 'wold not' cancelled

¹¹ Writing here small and crowded. Word undeciphered.

¹² 'a christ[ian]' cancelled.

¹³ 'princes' cancelled.

¹⁴ For 'lying'

An infamous part [?] among heathen persecutors.¹

Wee that are out of their handes must serve our god, wee dare not covenant that the glory of god may ² they ly all in wayt for our bloud No subjectes thus delt with, that for professing the same fayth in all poynts with this state, and all reformed churches this day in the world, going befor them in the detestation of Antichristes kingdome, and drawing neerer in some thinges unto Christes institution wee shold bee starved to death with cold hunger and thirst, made the mocking [?] of men in the land of our nativity,³ yf wee bee not true subjectes unto our princ whie are wee not brought as other felones malefactors befor the civill magistrates

SECTION IX

TWO DRAFTS OF LETTER TO RICHARD YOUNG

For Young, see Introduction He was an alderman of the City of London, a justice of the peace, and apparently a commissioner to try ecclesiastical cases The State Papers have many accounts of arrests and examinations by him, and include a warrant in 1590 to him and Richard Topcliffe to examine seminary priests and use torture if necessary Thus they did not hesitate to do, and there are many complaints of their cruelty and injustice No man was more active than Young in the prosecution of religious dissidents, Catholic and Protestant, and there are many illustrations of the odium he drew upon himself An example from the period of the warrant just mentioned is in *SPD*, ccxxx, 30-31, which tells how Mrs Dewse consulted a conjurer in order that she might 'be revenged of her enemies, one of whom was that thief, Justice Young, who lived by robbing Papists' The resentment of the Separatists finds expression in this letter, and in many of the petitions below.

1. First draft, undated.

[37 *right*, loose hand]

⁴ Mr Young that god whose truth you gaynsaid, whose sayntes you persecut, whose dishonour you uphold and mayntayn doth wish you to repent, and to turne from these your evell courses. And yf I shold not testify this agaynst you, as I do it in love the stones of the street and ⁵ the very dumbe creatures would plead agaynst [you]. For the injury which in particular you do unto mee I forgive it you frome my soule how soone I may fall into your handes I ⁶ know not only this I ame ready to beare whatsoever the Lord shall inflict upon mee eyther by your hand or by any other of his roddes. But know this that the cry of guiltless and inocent bloud will pursue,⁷ untill the never ending wrath of god have fearfully ceased upon you without your repentanc.

And therfor whatsoever I bee, whether ⁸ the man whome you suppose, that is an enemy unto my princ and contrey, or otherwise a most dutifull subject, I beseech

¹ For 'tyrantes'

² Margin 'heathen men deal not after this sort'

³ Marginal decoration in ink draws attention to the first five lines.

⁴ Beginning of 'would' crossed out

⁵ Just possibly 'persevere'

⁶ Sentence breaks off

⁷ For 'you' cancelled

⁸ For 'eyther' crossed out

you and as in the presence, befor whom both of us shall answer in that great day, that you look unto your soule and the salvation therof Yt wilbe to[o] late to call ¹ for grac when the day of offered mercy and peac is contemned and that [*sic*] overpassed.

The cruell man shall cease, and the bloodthirsty shall and all that hasted to iniquity.

I could lay downe examples of former tymes befor you what [38 *left*] have [*sic*] befallen men in your case I trust and I heartily pray, that althoughe your lif bee lik theirs, yet your deathes may bee unlyk. yet this I must tell you, that the man who hardeneth his [heart] when hee is rebuked shall sudenly fall and cannot be healed.

² he that liveth the lyf of the persecutour dieth also the death of the bloody man

For our selves yf our testimony one our owne behalf would bee ³

hee that wold persecut Christe in his members, wold also persecut him yf hee wear in his ⁴ members. Persecutors, Mr Young, bee ⁵ so blinded in the just judgment of god as they canot see them selves to bee the men whom they are Know this also that I shall leave behind mee how soon soever I fall into your grine ⁶ that which will describe you for another slaughterer, and floud [] ⁷ agaynst the sayntes And I thank my god I know the uprightness of my cause to seech, [*sic*, to be such ?] as I fear neyther Mr Young nor any evell man whatsoever neyther the cruelty nor the lynges awayt of any flesh

I wold bee loth that my bloud shold writ[e] your accusation before the judgment seat of ⁸ your god and myne.

You shall easier gett mee Mr Young, by procuring mee the favour to ⁹

I ame sory our contrey need us not, yf wee canot do good unto it, yet may ¹⁰

2. Second draft.

Much longer, and dated 12 March 1592/93

[38 *right*, loose hand]

¹¹ Mr Young that god whose truth you gaynsaid, whose sayntes you persecute, and whose dishonour you mayntayn and uphold will eyther (which I earnestly desier) in his mercy turne your heart unto him, or break you to peeces in his fierc wrath. I testify this unto you I warne you therof ¹² heer upon earth, and shall wittness it

¹ For 'wish'

² This paragraph written in between the lines.

³ Sentence breaks down

⁴ A vertical line before 'his' suggests Penry started another word, perhaps to write 'their midst'

⁵ 'so' is before 'bee' as well as after

⁶ 'Grin', a snare or noose (now obsolete See *NED*)

⁷ Word undeciphered

⁸ Evidently Penry twice began to write 'the throne', and then changed his mind

⁹ Sentence breaks off with an unfinished word

¹⁰ Here the draft ends in the middle of a sentence, and two-thirds down the page.

¹¹ A similar marginal decoration in ink as in first draft

¹² 'I warne you therof' written in above a caret

agaynst you in that great day of the Lordes appearing exsept you repent Repent¹ you then² good sir befor it bee to late For you deal with him and agaynst him, whoe is a consuming fier Who ever strove agaynst him and prospered as the holy man sayeth.³ Oh sir consider your wordes, your cruell speaking, your cruell⁴ deedes agaynst us the poor people of the Lord, and tak heed least you bee in their case⁵ unto whome⁶ being uncurable in mans judgment this only is to bee sayd⁷ Behold the Lord cometh with thousandes of his sayntes to give judgment agaynst all men, and to rebuk all the ungodly among them of all their wicked deedes which they have ungodly comitted and of all their cruell speakings which wicked synners have spoken agaynst him.⁸

I warne you hereof in love, and yf I shold not I know the very stones in the street and the dumb creatures them selves wold testify agaynst the great [39 *left*] injury unto [*sic*] which you do unto the god⁹ of heaven and his people.

For the injury which in particular you have and doe every wher offer unto mee, I forgive it you frome my hert and earnestly desier the Lord, yf it bee his will¹⁰ not to lay it to your charge. How soone I may fall into your handes I know not, only this know that I ame ready, whensoever the Lord shall bring it so to pass¹¹

And you shall fynd Mr Young that I fear not any thing that is made of flesh in this case wherin I stand and ame therfor also by the assistanc of my god ready¹² to sustayn whatsoever hee shall inflict upon mee eyther by your hand or by any others of his rodde But know you this that the cry of inocent and giltles blood will follow you, and bee sounding¹³ day and night in your eares untill¹⁴ the everlasting¹⁵ wrath of god have ceased upon your person body and soule¹⁶ without your repentanc.

And therfor whatsoever I bee, whether a traytor as you give out or a dutifull subject unto my princ and contrey as myne innocency¹⁷ testifieth befor heaven and earth, I beseech you that you look unto your owne soule and the salvation therof Yt wilbe to late to call for grac when the day of proffered mercy and peac is overpassed

¹ For 'And' cancelled

² For 'therof' cancelled

³ Job ix 4

⁴ Beginning of 'deedes' crossed out

⁵ For 'in that case that'

⁶ For 'whoe bee of'

⁷ For 'it may bee sayd' Margin 'Jud[e] 14 15'.

⁸ The next 9 lines are cancelled They read, with marginal reference '2 Chr 32 18' (the italicised words are scored through, the cancellation of the whole having apparently been done subsequently)

'Consider what befell unto Senacherib, unto and his unto Rashaketh [*sic*], and unto other proud and cruell unbrooked persecutors, whoe thought they might as boldly speak and deal agaynst the religion and people of the living god, as agaynst the religion and people of some heathen god Idoll, I wish that you may nether continue in their steppes, nor especially bee lyk them in punishment I wish you to tak heed of their steppes, yf you purpose not to bee participat of their woe'

⁹ For 'Lord'.

¹⁰ Several erasures before phrase selected

¹¹ For 'appoynt the'

¹² 'ready' cancelled, 'pre[pared]' begun and cancelled, and 'ready' written again

¹³ For 'cleave unto'

¹⁴ 'it have brogh[t]' cancelled

¹⁵ For 'never-[ending]'

¹⁶ 'you' first written, altered to 'your' and 'person body and soule' added

¹⁷ For 'as all the world'

I could lay befor you, the fearfull judgmentes that have befallen the men of the former ages, whose¹ course you now hold,² whose iniquity you fill up, and of whose judgmentes you shall feelee yf you hold one³ But I hertely wish⁴ you to look unto and to consider of that endlesse joy and endless payne and so labour that as hetherto you have been overlyk [39 *right*] unto the former persecutors in your lyf, so you may bee unlyke them by your⁵ repentance in your death Yett this I must tell you, that hee whoe liveth the lyf of the persecutor dyeth also for the most part the death of the bloody and deceytfull man I protest unto you, sir, that I would bee loath that my bloud or the bloud or [*sic*, of] any of my poor brethren shold writ[e] your accusation befor our god. Oh the cry of inocent bloud is piercing, and avaylable in the eares of the Almighty.

Wee are not Mr. Young, as you well know in good measur I think the men whome wee are slandered to bee. You know well that wee desier nothing but quietnes to serve our god, and our prince Our cause is lykly to come befor our soveraing who will not see us I trust thus troden underfeet, and as you have any respect unto hir displeasure, enforce us not to complayn of you unto hir maestie.

Thus having discharged my conscienc towardses you I tak my leave of your worship, beseeching the Lord to tourne your heart, that you may have grace in tyme to turne unto him, whoe rewardeth everyman according unto his deedes, and will not deferr to reward him to his face, that goeth unreformed in his syne The .12 of the .3 moneth March⁶ 1592.

SECTION X

FRAGMENTS OF APPEALS TO THE QUEEN

In his last interview with Burghley, the statesman suggested to Penry that he should appeal to the clemency of the Queen (see Penry to Burghley, 28 May 1593—a day before his death—printed in Burrage, *EED*, II 93-6) The notebook contains only two fragments of letters to the Queen

[23 *right*; first three lines only, neat hand]

The access right high and mighty princes[s] that wee have unto the King of Kinges emboldeneth us also to come befor you his lieutenant.

[25 *left*, the first 8 lines on page, neat hand, line drawn underneath across page]

Foras much right high and mighty princes[s] and my most dread soveraing, as the cause wherin I deale is⁷

wee are not so voyd of humane wisdom, as to complayne if []⁸ your maestie shold sitt in the gate.

¹ For 'which'

² 'agay[n]' cancelled

³ i.e. 'hold on'

⁴ For 'I trust that you will'

⁵ For 'by the'.

⁶ For 'July', cancelled The date is marked by parallel pencil lines in the margin

⁷ Sentence breaks down

⁸ 'if' or 'of', then undeciphered word

wee ar loath to grieve, and yf it reached but to our selves wee wold bear untill greater opportunity Altho[?] knowing that you are appoynt[ed] by the Lord especially to see æquity and justic performed¹

SECTION XI

PETITIONS TO BURGHLEY, ESSEX, AND THE COUNCIL

Nearly half the notebook is taken up with letters to noblemen and to the Council. They present an intricate problem. They are undated, although all clearly belong to the two months between Penry's Supplication to Parliament on 10 Maich and his execution; internal evidence does not allow them to be placed in chronological order with any assurance. Generally they do not indicate the addressee, though three of them contain Burghley's name, and one that of Essex. Not only so, but sometimes it is not clear whether a letter is meant for an individual or for the Council. 'my Lord' changes to 'your Lordships' with bewildering frequency on the same page. And, as if this were not enough, it can never be assumed that a letter runs on consecutively from page to page: two letters may dovetail into each other, or a letter may be interspersed with fragmentary notes made for future use. Occasionally, but only occasionally, help is given by a clue such as 'This is the thrid tyme now that I come unto your Honour'.

Some attempt at classification had to be made. Four letters, it seems clear, were meant for Burghley. With them are grouped fragments which mention him, are similar to contents of letters addressed to him or in close proximity to them in the notebook. One petition has Essex's name, and fragments seem to be drafts for it. Two letters, where the plural is prominent, and some fragments, are assigned to the Council, though perhaps one was meant for the Lord Keeper.

1. A letter to Lord Burghley [March] 1593

As the notebook lies open at p. 45 there are two drafts of this letter. The first, signed 'John Penry', has many cancellations, and is much over-written; the second, signed 'J. P.', is a fair copy written sideways from the bottom of the page to the top. The revisions, as always when there are two drafts of Penry's papers, are of interest. The fair copy has marginal markings.

First draft.

[45 *left, reversed*, neat hand]

This land my Lord without the speedy² repentanc therof shalbe undobtedly visyted in the Lordes fierce wrath for the injury and oppression shewed unto his³ truth and servantes therein [?] I have not so often⁴ dealt with your Lordship, for iustice unto the cause and servantes of the living god. Yf you mak not greater hast my Lord unto that work⁵ what entertaynment you are to exept [*sic*, expect] befor the heavenly tribunall.

I see not⁶ you can look for any other then a merciless sentenc at the celestiaall⁷ tribunall. I dare not but putt you in mynd therof.

¹ Ends abruptly

² For 'you swiftly'

³ For 'the'.

⁴ Difficult 'not', written in, may be 'now', 'so' is also uncertain

⁵ 'Wee have now moved the parliament in our expect member [?] number' cancelled

⁶ For word cancelled.

⁷ For 'heavenly'

What farther occasion you have to speak on ¹ the behalf ² of the Lordes people and cause, this supplication heerin enclosed which was attending upon your honours coming unto the Parliament will declare unto you. Yt was delivered both unto my Lord Keeper and unto Mr Speaker, whether moved in eyther ³ of the houses, or yet acquaynted with your Lordshipe I know not because I ame assured, that the poor woemen whoe came to present the same,⁴ wear entertayned ⁵ in such sort, as it is smally for the ⁶ credit of the upper house by whome they wear so heardly delt with,⁷ especially, yf their hard usage ⁸ proceeded not from the commandement of that honorable assemblie or servantes therof but from some few of their honours their assembled as I have reason to judge. For then the case is farr more unworthy, as greatly derogating from the libertyes of that high court, that any of the members therof shold of their owne privat authority assume unto them selves, the punishing ⁹ of those that come to crave justic of the ¹⁰ whole house. And it concerneth your honour to look unto it yf you purpos to leave a free common wealth behind you, as you have reaceved the same Whie my Lord may wee neyther hav justic nor yet sue for the same and complayn of injustice and wrong Well our god will look unto our cause And lett not your Lordship think to escape his hand Oh my Lord yf you knew the misery wherin hir maiesties poor subjectes ly now ¹¹ in horrible dungeones and prisiones for the testimony of Christ, I know you cold not but pittty them Pittty them my Lord and deliver them, that the blessing of him that is ready to perish may follow my Lord Burleye¹² and his house, overtake him, and cleave unto him for ever.

¹³ By him who unfaynedly desireth the æternall good of your Lord in Christ Jesus.

John Penry

Second draft.

[45 *right, written along the page, facing centre*, fair copy hand, the initial 'v' used in this hand has been changed to 'u' throughout the draft]

This land (my Lord) without the speedie repentance therof shalbe undoubtedly visited in the Lordes feirce wrath, for the iniurie and oppression shewed unto his truth and servantes therein. Our natiue Contry and Contrymen will not heare us speaking unto them in the name of the Lord and therfore the iust Judg will undoubtedly plead against them, eyther with pestilence, famin, or the sword of the uncircumcised and cruell Spaniard. And think you to escape (my Lord) this avenging hand, except you make greater haste unto iustice and iudgment? Why my Lord, how doth the state of England think to stand, seeing they warr against

¹ For 'sue for the' [?]

² For 'our behalf'.

³ For 'unto the'.

⁴ For 'to sue in the behalf of the'

⁵ 'wear entertayned' duplicated, one cancelled

⁶ 'honours', written in, disturbs the sentence

⁷ Two lines cancelled 'Whie my Lord shall wee'

'Yf their hard usage, for some of them are as yet imprisoned'

⁸ 'usage' mistakenly crossed out

⁹ 'punishing' duplicated, one cancelled

¹⁰ For 'at the'

¹¹ 'prison' cancelled

¹² 'Sir William Cecill' crossed out.

¹³ Written along margin

the Lord¹ and his sonne Christ in such sort, as wee may neyther haue iustice in his behalf, nor yet peaceably sue for the same unto the high Court of Parl. without inevitable perill. As it appeareth by the intreatie of the poore woemen, who delyvered this complaite both unto my Lord Keeper and Mr Speaker² Unto what confused disorder is this state come unto that the Parl of England cannot be sued unto in the behalf of god, but poore woemen attending there for iustice must be committed to prison as tho they had doon som great and heynous offence? What a shamefull thing is it that Justice Young may send for the poore woemen, who delyvered this Suppl unto Mr. Speaker, and also unto Sir Rob Cecil (if his honour would³ have received the same) examin her and enforce her, for fear of his bloodthirsty cruelty, to reaveale whatsoever shee could utter touching that Supplication and the delivery therof.

How unworthely suffer you the privaleges of that highe court to bee thus encroached upon and troden under foot by every evell disposed person, yf your Lordship permitt this dealing of Mr. Young especially to be uncontrolled.

I ame perswaded, that your Lordship is not privy unto these thinges, nor yet I think unto the delivery of this our most just petition, (thoughe the same attended upon your honours coming unto the house, yf⁴ it had been the Lordes plesur that you could have been mett with) and therfor I thought it my duty to acquaynt your honour therwith. And it standeth you in hand to look unto the dealing and to see it amended, exept you wold have every man, to embolden him self to do what his hand hath power to effect in this land Wee dare not in a while so much as write unto our princ, unto your Lordship, or any other of our superiours, but Mr Young, and such evell disposed men will eyther bring us under their auricular confession, or undo us by wrongfull imprisonment. Alas my Lord wher live wee? In what common wealth? Wher tyrannous anarchie possesseth⁵ all thinges, or the liberty of free subjectes do remayne. hir maiestie must bee acquaynted with your usage exept your Lordship, which I earnestly desire in the name of god, that wee need not grieve the heart of our princ, by laying open our injurys unto hir, which I protest unto you wee⁶ are willing to conceale, yf their weer any measure in our evell intreaty. But indeed my Lord we can no longer beare⁷ this violent hand, but wee must complayne to our Soueraigne therof yea and lay yt open unto the worlde exept redresse be had, well our god will looke unto our cause. Oh my lord yf you knew the misery wherin hir maiestyes subjectes whose cause this supplication doth lay open doe now lye in horrible doungeones for the testimony of Christ I know you could not but pytty, pytty them then my lorde and let them be called to their answeare and rust tryall⁸(this is all wee desyre that they [*sic*]

¹ Perhaps altered to 'god'.

² Marginal decoration in ink draws attention to the next sentences

³ After 'would', at the end of the line, are two markings, like closing brackets, the meaning of which is not clear Perhaps they are to draw attention to the mention of Sir Robert Cecil

⁴ The next few lines are marked not only by a marginal line, but by a nought and a cross, all in ink And no wonder! The reference to every man doing what his hand had power to do was naturally the kind of thing on which the archbishop and the High Commission seized with avidity

⁵ 'do' cancelled

⁶ 'wee' written over for 'your'

⁷ Looks as if Penry thought of writing 'silence'

⁸ No closing bracket

blesinge of hym, which is ready to peryshe, may follow my lorde Burleighe and his house may overtake hym and cleave to hym for ever Amen

By hym who unfaynedly desyreth the eternall good of your Lordshipe in Christ Jesus our Lorde

J. P

2. Another letter to Burghley.

[15 *right*, loose hand]

¹ The sword of justic in your hand right honorable, your highe place authority and calling together with the great wisdom, yeares and deserveng [?] wherby ² at this day yf eyther to your great honour or to your reproof bee it without flattery I may speak the truth to your face you are not only at home but also among forayn nationes accounted the stay of counsell in these westerne ³ partes of the world [?],⁴ I dutifully reverenc as being the ordenances and the graces of the god [of] heaven, but the same sword, the sayd ⁵ I fear not, because you are not clad and armed therwith agaynst inocentes but for their support And as to the ornamentes of your place I know they are given you for the truth ⁶ and not agaynst the same wherupon it cometh to pass that I dare boldly come unto you at this present and that in the name of the great god of heaven and earth to crave the ayd of your sayd sword and authority for my defenc agaynst myne adversaries

My very name will acquaynt your honour sufficiently with my cause, with myne adversaries and with my desolate estate and perill in regard of the malicious injustic and ⁷ hatred of mine enemyes the prelates and priestes of this land. my bloud they seek But exopt [?] you shold protect [?] mee they will have my bloud ⁸ [16 *left*] you draw towards your grave by ag, I drawe towards my end by untymly death. Yf I goe befor you know this that bloud will stand between you and the favour of God which can be purged by no sacrific, yf willingly you oversee my death. Hee that made your conscience will also bee terrible unto the same in this lif, exopt you ⁹ tak heed that you draw not the gilt of inocent bloud therupon. My owtward estat and body is not so in the hand (nor canot be) of the prelates of the land and their jaylors, but that your body your health liberty and welfare is even after the same maner much more in the handes of the god that hath made them [?] both these soules and bodies

If I come after [?] you my danger and the cause wherin you left mee ¹⁰ wilbe a word of conscienc unto [you] when the terrours of death shall assayl, and ¹¹ as a thik cloud between you and the favour of god.

For deaceve not your self, my Lord Yf the bloud of the sayntes bee not precious

¹ Marginal markings in pencil, covering three lines

² Line written in very small

⁴ 'world' doubtful

⁶ Two words joined by an ampersand, faded, crossed out

⁷ For 'of'

⁸ The last line of the page difficult, I have brought down 'my bloud' from the line above, where it is duplicated

⁹ 'bee upright towards this cause in my handes' cancelled.

¹⁰ 'though' cancelled

¹¹ Duplicated.

³ For 'caste[rne]', cancelled

⁵ 'wisdom' mistakenly cancelled

in your eyes,¹ the Lord will laughe at [16 *right*] your anguish of soule even at your feare when thos terrours cometh suddenly lyk an armed man judgment merciless shalbe unto him [*sic*, you]. Yf you bereve mee.

At this point the sentence stops, there is a blank half-page, and then apparently the same letter continues, still on 16 *right*

Deaceve not your self my Lord, for yf I wold []² over the pursuit of the Tirantes [?] I cold live in outward stay and quietnes that I needed not to troble your honour with the destr³ of my bloud nay the greatest enemy that I have in the land.

Break of about half-an-inch in manuscript.

But the truth is this that the land is so well governed under hir maiestie, that hee maketh him self a prey that seeketh the Lordes righteous ordenances And this my Lord is the thankses that the god of heaven and his church

[17 *left* ⁴]

exept the Lord do break the arme of their power. I come unto you as unto the buckler of hir maiesties inocent subjectes.⁵

I offer my lyf unto your handes and lay my bloud before you eyther to bee delivered by your meanes or to bee spilt by you.

I account the same to bee delivered by you, yf you do but procure mee æquall triall according unto the word of god and hir maiesties lawes. The favour is but small you are bound to do it my bloud shalbe spilt by you yf you hinder not the same to bee shed causeless and that for professing the truth of my master the Lord Jesus Christ

Befor whose tribunall seat my Lord I charg appeale and cite you at this present, and will charg you in the day of the Lord, that I have offered my self and my cause unto your handes, desiring nothing but justic, and that as you shall aunswere befor him whoe must shew you and mee mercy and not justic, or⁶ els it will goe evell with us

my bloud my Lord as also the bloud of all the sayntes is dear in the eyes of my god⁷, hee will not see the same spilt but hee will mak enquiry⁸ for it, to see⁹ not only which [*sic*] thersted for it but whoe wold not preserve the same when it lay in their power so to doe. Yt lyeth in your power my Lord eyther to do justic¹⁰

¹ For 'unto you'

² Uncertain whether short word here cancelled or not, may be 'goe' or 'give'.

³ Edge of page, perhaps 'destruction'

⁴ With hesitation it has been assumed that 17 *left* follows 16 *right* in the normal way, though the breaks on the latter page and the uncertain sequence (though it is just a possible one) leave room for doubt

⁵ For 'inocent bloud'

⁶ A letter cancelled

⁷ 'althoughe for professing his cause it had been' cancelled

⁸ 'and requit it' cancelled

⁹ 'whoe' cancelled

¹⁰ This is end of 17 *left* nowhere in the vicinity is a page beginning with the continuing alternative It seems, therefore, best to conclude that the sentence broke down, and that the letter continues on the opposite page, 17 *right*

[17 *right*]

hir maiestie and state crieth unto you For you might and shold redress all these thinges that is see that civill justic shold tak place, and innocents shold bee []¹ in these dayes of your honour and preferment especially you shold honour him that hath honoured you, and will redouble your credit [?]² and dishonour, yf you seek not his glory. For as he sayed unto the great princ Elly hee that will honour him these will hee honour³

Say not that you are ready to confess that the prelates ar evell men,⁴ that their practises are intollerable, that you purpose to see them restrayned wheras in the meane season you suffer them to do what they will For this yea and more did Ely unto his children, and yet the Lord visited him and⁵ his house with a sore plag in one day For Ely brak his neck and his twoe sones Hophni and Phineas wear slayn with the sword of the uncircumcised and the glory departed from Israell. Tak heed my Lord least [?] the lyk judgment fall upon you and your house, for bearing [?] not with your naturall sones, but with these unnaturall trayterous [?] brood the prelates and the priesthood of the land [18 *left*] whose proceedinges yf you restrayn not, the just Lord will accuse and convict you of honouring them more then his maiesties [*sic*] his ordenances Restrayn them you may and shold my Lord For it is well knowen what your wisdome is able to bring to pass in a just cause.⁶ And you must not stayne hir maiestie and the state of the land with that note of ignorancy and discredit, that they will not bee ruled by your godly counsell and advise rather reject your godly counsell and advise for the glory of god, the suppressing of tyranous priestes and the defenc of the []⁷ for the upholding of tyranny and the contemning of⁸ that they wold rather uphold impiety injustic and cruelty in the prelates rather then follow your godly iuste grave and approved counsell for the glory of god the defenc of inocentes and the suppressing of tyranous priestes.

⁹ Alas my Lord whie shold Sir Thomas¹⁰ and Sir William Secill or any other of your offspring and posterity [18 *right*] fall under the curse and wrath of God becaus you¹¹ their father will not heer¹² nor pittie the cry of poor inocentes and delhver them out of the jawes of these bloody and ravenous priestes.

¹ Undeciphered word

² Word not easy, but begins 'c' and ends 'it', 'credit', however, fits awkwardly; it is at the end of the page and may be a longer word

³ Seven lines, closely written all along margin, difficult to read 'I will publish this writing after your death my Lord eyther unto your honour yf [*sic*] or utter shame, that the truth of gods judgmentes decreed [?] agaynst you or mercy offered unto you may bee seene to come to pass as you have been forwarned Jir 51 53 Their is neyther I nor my brethren that are so desolate of help but that the name of our god is a sure place of defenc unto [us] And therfor know that wee stand and shall stand yf the lord hav so determynd, thoughe you deny us the favour which you are bound to grant'

⁴ 'that pr' cancelled

⁵ For 'with'.

⁶ For 'the behalf'

⁷ Two words undeciphered, the first, written in, may be 'worthy', the second 'eleace', perhaps for 'elect'

⁸ Sentence breaks down

⁹ The last three lines on page marked by parallel pencil marks in margin

¹⁰ Thomas was the eldest son Penry wrote 'Rober' first, crossed it out and substituted 'Thomas', and then put 'William' for 'Robert' in error. Burghley had other sons, but they died young.

¹¹ For 'rather, by your'

¹² For 'help'

¹ Nay lett this fall upon Ely and his posterity and lett Sir William Cicell and his house deliver him self ² and his from the wrath of God in ³ being as a rock in a dry land

Wee are mad[e] a prey unto the cruelty of Every evell disposed constable justic yea and men of all sortes in Norwich Salisbury especially jaylours and keepers of prisonnes

After a gap of an inch

⁴ Wear it not my Lord for the hope of a better lyf, yt wear ⁵ better for us to bee Queen Elizabethes beastes then ⁶ hir subjectes yea hir Christian subjectes For weer wee hir beastes going under hir mark the proudest prelate in the land durst not attempt to tak us unto ther owne handes Yf they did your honour wold ⁷ think it belonging unto your office to charg them for ⁸ [19 *left*] and are wee no better then beastes in your eyes? Will the Lord wink at this your synn Shall it bee hidden from posterity? Nay ⁹ lett my bloud flow unto the ages to come as a streaming fountayn of remembranc that the treasurer of England hath been more cruell then the ostriches and more stony hearted then the flynty rock towards the danger and perill of the lyffes [*sic*] ¹⁰ of mee, being a man ¹¹ a true subjectes [*sic*] of his princ yea of a Christian subject and of a Christian princ

The imag of god in man thoughe decayed by syne yet the most wonderfull [] ¹² of the highest with [?] the members of Christ have been ¹³ viler in his sight then the ¹⁴ dumbe and brut beast that hath been appoynted to [*contd on 20 right*] the slaughter.¹⁵

And therfor my Lord because you esteem hir maiesties gold hir silver and hir beast[es] of pric ¹⁶ more then the members of Christ hir subjectes Therfor remember that the Lord may rayse up agaynst you and your house those enemyes that will not seek gold nor silver ¹⁷ but your lyf and the lyf of the ¹⁸ fruit of your body ¹⁹ Call to mynd the æquity of the lawe Yf any man have field or vineyard and putt in his beastes to feed in another mans field he shall recompenc the best of his owne field and the best of his owne vyneyard. The æquity hereof is my Lord that seing

¹ Two lines covered by marginal pencil markings

² For 'his so[ns]'

³ For 'by'

⁴ 'Wear . . . hir subjectes' doubly marked in ink in margin, by vertical line and cross It was quoted in the indictment

⁵ For 'ha[d]'

⁶ 'then' duplicated, one cancelled.

⁷ 'wold' blotted and uncertain

⁸ End of page Some such word as 'theft', 'robbery', or 'it' missing

⁹ A line and two words crossed out

¹⁰ 'wheras' cancelled

¹¹ 'being a man' may be cancelled

¹² Undeciphered word, ending '-ship'.

¹³ 'wee are more precious in his sight' cancelled

¹⁴ 'then' duplicated, 'ostriches' crossed out

¹⁵ Margin, written along, and emphasized by parallel pencil marks 'Well my Lord eyther acquaynt hir maestie with our cause at least send this my letter unto hir and therby procure us justic even to death yf wee deserve the same, or I will acquaynt posterityes with your dealing in rejecting this so æquall a suit Wherfor my Lord as you will avoyd the wrath of god and this discredit lett mee [?] be accepted of you'

¹⁶ Perhaps 'prey' intended

¹⁷ Margin 'Isai'

¹⁸ For 'your'

¹⁹ Three words written in 'a [] that'

the prelates feeding upon our liberty and our blood, by your commandment privity consent and authority for my Lord you remember that your honours hand also hath in tymes past layd [?] the share with them for¹ my lyf it is a righteous thing with god that the best of your blood shalbe yealded for it [21 *left*] Doth the Lord tak care of fieldes and doth hee not tak care of the blood of his servantes

And²

Yea verily of our blood that wee might bee assured that hee is the avenger of all such thinges.

And will you call to mynd my Lord what the phrophett³ teacheth us by the example of the Babelonish King shall become of all those whoe will not open the house of the prisoners yf they may⁴

3. Draft fragments of letters to Burghley [?].

Four paragraphs which seem to be drafts to be incorporated in letters to Burghley, loose hand, ink faded in first paragraph

[15 *left*]

The sword right honorable and the power therof I⁵ willingly acknowleg to deserve my⁶ high and good æstimation and reverenc But agaynst well doers it hath no edg and no forc. And therfor being an inocent I⁷ neyther can nor dare fear the same as long as it is the Lordes Yf it bee abused he that hath comitted the same⁸ For the Lord wilbe a sure avenger of all such dealinges

[15 *left*]

They are sick my Lord of a malady that presently [will] eat them exsept they have my blood to feed upon eyther they or I must fall when they have gotten it, the violenc⁹ of their gnawing diseas is such, that presently the blood of another¹⁰ of the sayntes must stay¹¹ the rag[e] therof.

When the Lord is provoked by them to enter¹² into judgement and to stay their handes from spilling of blood they languish and ar gone in a moment

The discovery of their corruptiones is lyke a fretting wolf¹³ which cane bee alayed aswaged¹⁴ by nothing but by blood.

[21 *right*]

Shall I not have justic?

Will it hurt England to grant mee justic?

¹ Duplicated in text

² As MS

³ Margin 'Isai. 14'.

⁴ Ending as text.

⁵ 'confess' crossed out

⁶ The ink in this paragraph has faded, the word may be 'most', or possibly it is cancelled.

⁷ 'can' crossed out.

⁸ Possibly 'sinne', or perhaps some words missing Sentence does not read.

⁹ For the cancelled beginning of a word

¹⁰ Barrow and Greenwood were executed on 6th Apl, 1593, but the reference is more probably to Roger Rippon, who died in Feb, and the fragment dates from March rather than April

¹¹ For 'bee adjoyne[d]'

¹² Word begun before 'enter', and not cancelled

¹³ See *NED*. for the disease, *lupus*, the wolf, where the term 'fretting wolf' is quoted as an example.

¹⁴ Both words written above a cancelled word.

Do all landes stand by justic and shall not England stand therby
Doth injury and oppression cry in the eares of the Lord of hoostes.

[14 *right*])

thirsty of my blood.¹ I ame an inocent, it profiteth mee not, I desire but
civill Christian civill ² triall even justic and no favour I canot obtayn it.

It concerneth your Lordship not to see hir maiesties Crowne stayned with ³
inocent blood especially for professing the truth of Christ Jesus and for no other
cause ⁴ The day ⁵

4. Draft of letter to Burghley.

[29 *right*, varying hands, much corrected]

⁶ I come unto you for æquity and justic (right honorable) in the cause of the
living god, and not for any defenc or ⁷ protection to cover any breach of hir maiesties
lawes that I have incurred; my suit yf you do repell I must complayne unto the
Lord and referr my cause unto him who will surely heer. And although I do and
will also earnestly beseech him not to lay this your syne unto your charg; yet know
this my Lord that hee is a jelous god, with whome you deale ⁸; know that hee
requireth at the ⁹ hand of all magistrates that they heer the small as well as the
greate,¹⁰ and judg without respect of persones because judgment and justic is his
and not mans. Yf I wear some great pear of the land you wold help [¹¹].

I ame a stranger unto your Lord I grant. And therefor ar you so much the
more bound to hear mee, and to sollicite my cause yea thoughe I wear ¹² an alien ¹³
But whosoever I ame the commandement of the holy gost is clear ¹⁴ by vertue wherof
I come unto you, and you are bound to regard mee and my brethren in the æquity
of our suit. Deliver them, sayeth the Lord god,¹⁵ that are drawn to death, and
wilt not thow preserve them, that are led to bee slayn

Yf thow say behold wee know not of it, hee that pondereth the hart doth hee
not understand, and he that keepeth thy soul knoweth hee it not? will not hee also
recompens every man according unto his workes.

You know my cause my Lord, and the cause of my brethren that are every
wher proscribed persecuted and unnaturally [?] emprisoned [?] throughout the
land, wee are drawn unto death in contagious prisonnes, ly in irons in cold in naked-
nes, in moyst stiffling, dungeones, driven frome poste to piller, not having any quiet-
nes ¹⁶ within any of hir maiesties dominiones. And will you not deliver us. Wee

¹ For 'of my blood'

² As MS

³ 'blood' crossed out

⁴ For 'nothing'

⁵ Sentence breaks down

⁶ The first ten lines marked by double pencil line in margin

⁷ 'defenc or' written in instead of 'or defenc' after 'protection'

⁸ 'And that judgment and justic is his' cancelled

⁹ For 'of the'.

¹⁰ Margin. 'Deut 1. 17.'

¹¹ The last sentence and its undeciphered continuation written in, very tiny, between lines

¹² For 'yf I wear'.

¹³ Word before 'alien', perhaps 'utter', cancelled, and also 'But being hir maiesties sub-
jecte' after it

¹⁴ Margin 'Exodus 22 21 and 23 9 After 'clear' 'Deliver them' is cancelled

¹⁵ Margin. 'Prov 24 11 12'

¹⁶ For word cancelled, perhaps 'sure'

are bound to bee slayn by these bloody priestes¹ and prelates What then will your Lordship answer unto the preserver of your soul yf you preserve² us not as much as [30 *left*] in you lyeth Hee is the searcher of the hertes he pondereth your thoughtes, soe seeth what you know, and knoweth what you can doe, and as hee hath a discerning so hee hath a revenging ey. hee³ will also recompense you heer, yf you stretch not your hand, lay toe your shoulder to uphold the poore and the needy. The god of judgment will not bee content that the poor child bee helped in the gat[e] yf you may do otherwise hee will recompense⁴ hee will requit yf you doe not helpe.⁵ my desier my Lord is most æquall for my self and my brethren, and that is that wee may bee called to our triall or have the liberty of⁶ subjectes in the meane tyme. Wee refuse not to answer any thing that our⁷ adversaries can charg us

They say as your honour []⁸ that I am Marten I answer that my name is John Penri and not Marten Marp I answer that I desier but to bee called to my triall in this poynt also, and being found guilty⁹ lett the law tak plac. I answer that yf it bee sufficyent¹⁰ to accuse no¹¹ man can be innocent. I aunswer, that an heathen judg cold say¹² that it was not the maner of the Romanes being heathen also to deliver any man unto death or punishment befor that hee which is accused have the accusers befor him, and have place to defend him self concerning the crime. And may I not procure even this extremity of favour unto my self in¹³ a state professing Christ Jesus I aunswer that a gentleman Mr. Job Throckmorton by name was indighted for Marten. And what law is this my Lord that Mr. Job Throckmorton shold bee beaten for that falt¹⁴ whereof John Penry is sayd to bee guilty.¹⁵ Doth not this shew that judgment is turned into gall and []¹⁶ in the furrowes of our field. Sathan that guideth these prelates openly declareth their [30 *right*] made rage agaynst the truth, and¹⁷ publisheth their malic unto all men: In that they care not whome to accuse, whome to indight, whome to condemne, so hee bee of their number whome they canot brooke And althoughe my Lord that which I have already sett downe in this¹⁸ bee the only reason wherewith I purpos to aunswer myne adversaries, yet for your Lordshipes satisfaction, that

¹ For 'prelates'

² For 'regard'

³ A preceding 'The[n]' seems to be crossed out

⁴ The last two lines written in very small, and the edge of the paper torn Then five difficult lines crossed out vertically, and parts cancelled horizontally as well 'Yea but I ame accused to bee Marten ["Marp" cancelled] I answer my Lord that my name is John Penry and not Marten Marprelate ["yf this bee the grief of myne adversaries" cancelled after "that"] I desier but to bee called to my triall in this poynt [for "land" (?)], and yf I bee found guilty lett the law take place Yf it bee enoughe to accuse who can bee innocent?'

⁵ Ornament and ink line in margin Also pencil lines and cross opposite the Marprelate reference

⁶ Possibly an adjective like 'true' where paper torn.

⁷ For 'they can'.

⁸ Undeciphered word ends 'eth', perhaps 'objecteth' or 'reporteth'?

⁹ 'Currat lex' cancelled

¹⁰ 'enow' cancelled

¹¹ 'that' cancelled

¹² Margin 'Acts 25 16'

¹³ 'christian' cancelled

¹⁴ Or 'fact'

¹⁵ 'Ys this the justic that' cancelled.

¹⁶ The quotation suggests 'wormwood', but without that suggestion the script itself would be baffling, though there is a final 'd'

¹⁷ 'can f' cancelled

¹⁸ 'is sufficient to shall at all tymes sufficyently beat back all the' crossed out

your honour may see that I mak []¹ account as great reason ther is I shold of my Lord Thesurer, then I do of all the Roman priesthood of the land, I will sett you downe truth and nothing but truth touching myne inocency in this whole matter.

² First when thes bookes first came out I ame well knowen to have dislyked them and disclaymed them so as I wished to have been but privy unto many thinges their sett downe, which in my conscience I saw not only unjustifiable but some thing yrksome³ for mee⁴ whoe altogether dislyked the whole brood of the Romane prelates to read. Nay I was so farr from approving of the book, that coming⁵ some dousen myles from the place of myne aboard ther to meet my friend the gentleman befor named at his appoyntment I signified unto him, that⁶ such a new⁷ book came into my handes⁸ which I wold have brought unto him had it not been that I dislyked it so farr⁹ as I wold¹⁰ not have any hert to cary it about with mee.¹¹ And as for the gentleman him self who is unjustly accused to bee Marten, I dare assure your Lordship, that at that tyme, hee had not seen any of Martens bookes eyther written or printed,¹² and was so farr from being privy eyther to the writing publishing or printing of them as under [heaven]¹³ [31 left] he knew not whome to suspect for the author of them.

These thinges I speak not for any favour which at this present I have unto the gentlemans person. ¹⁴ *For it is well knowen that hee being of the same judgment with the* ¹⁵ *preachers of the land, differeth from mee at this present, even as farr in a maner as ever Marten and the prelates disagreed.* Only I ame bound in conscienc to yeald a true testimony unto his innocency And I must needes saye that his giftes of ¹⁶ wisdome, learning, and his loyalty unto his princ, their HH and his contrey the reverenc which hee caryeth towardes hir maiesties government, deserveth better intreaty, then to bee indighted as a felon for the pleasure of a few malicious priestes and their complices ¹⁷ ¹⁸ But to my self agayn I dislyked many ¹⁹ thinges in Marten ²⁰ for his maner, and for his matter of writing. All I purpos not to rehearse neyther can, becaus ²¹ I protest unto your Lordshippes that I know not what ar in all his bookes, neyther do I possible know wher to gett, or wold bestowe the labour in reading,²² yf ever I read them it was so cursoryly that I greatly heeded them²³ not

¹ Word undeciphered, ends 'er', perhaps 'greater', looks as if Penry began to write 'account' first

² Marginal line in ink for next five lines of text

³ Much cancellation, some of it of matter written between the lines

⁴ 'dislyking the' crossed out

⁵ 'unto my friend the gentleman befor named at his appoyntment I told him' cancelled

⁶ 'their was such a book publish' cancelled

⁷ For 'book'

⁸ Marginal mark covering two lines of text

⁹ For 'much'

¹⁰ For 'utterly refused'

¹¹ For 'bring it unto him' Margin: 'And this was my Lord at such tyme as it was reported that Marten was highly esteemed in court'

¹² Five words heavily scored out: 'And therfor [] your Lordship'

¹³ 'as under' at end of page, word clearly missing

¹⁴ Words italicized as in MS, and marked by ink in margin

¹⁵ 'forward' cancelled

¹⁶ 'lerning' cancelled

¹⁷ For 'acc[omplices]'

¹⁸ Marginal mark in ink covers three lines

¹⁹ 'many' duplicated, one cancelled

²⁰ Final 's' cancelled

²¹ Marginal mark in ink covers three lines of text

²² 'neyther reading' written between lines, very small

²³ For 'it'

But this one thing for his maner I greatly dislyked, vz. that which hee sett downe touching him whome they call the Archb of Canterbury. A long story or mome¹ their is some wher in his writings² sett down of him, as touching his clocbagg caryng, his servic done to D. Perne etc I ame sory that I ame enforced to troble my³ self but especially your honour with such stuff; well [?] ⁴ I dislyked it and I do dislyk it and the rest of the thinges of that nature. For my Lord althing [*sic*, although] I know that prelate to bee a great enemy of god ⁵ his sayntes and truth this day even ⁶ [an] enemy unto hir maesties soule the soules of [31 *right*] hir people and his owne,⁷ yet I cary this mynd towards hym, that yf at this very hour,⁸ his enemy assayled him in my presenc, I wold not only defend his lyf, but even his welfare, and that most willingly. Yea and the Lord shewe favour unto him body and soul for evermore which is all the disgrac I wish unto him.

⁹ Touching matter their are some poyntes of doctrine in Marten which I judged not sound when I read him, yea which are contrary unto my writings,¹⁰

1 he alloweth bishopes as they ar called to mak mynisters or priestes.

2 hee alloweth men¹¹ to bee made by them.

3 hee alloweth them to mak college priestes or mynisters without ¹² any charg

Thes ¹³ thinges I cold not lyk when I first read his writings, and I know them to bee erroneous

Agayn some thinges he had in his bookes ¹⁴ which then I judged untrue, thoughe now I think as hee hath sett downe as

1. That a bishop or a prelate is neyther magistrat nor mynister.

2. That to have a bishops licenc is to bear the mark of the beast etc.

Thes positiones and such lyk I judged then to bee errours in Marten, which now I hold for truth, though I have not lerned them of him. Now what shold move men to think mee to bee Marten I know not. For first I have written and had befor ever I knew, that their was any such creatur as Marten was [*sic*] under heaven, as vehemently [32 *left*] as sharply agaynst the prelates in some few pages of my writings as ever Marten did in all his bookes. ¹⁵ I sett my name unto all my writings saving my ¹⁶ first book, the which I personally defended (least the cause shold bee stayned) even to my great danger when no man chalenged mee for the same I have written eyther six or seven several treatises ¹⁷ wher I have openly

¹ N E D. gives 'mome' as a carping critic or jester, but there are no examples given of the word used for a story or jest

² In *The Epistle* (Pierce, *The Marprelate Tracts*, p 69)

³ For 'your'.

⁴ Two parallel pencil lines in margin, opposite the 4 lines to the end of the page

⁵ 'and' cancelled

⁶ 'ad' crossed out, no 'an' substituted.

⁷ 'owne' may be cancelled

⁸ 'I saw' cancelled

⁹ Ink line with ornamental heading in margin, covering two-thirds of page

¹⁰ 'the' cancelled.

¹¹ 'men' seems correct Is something missing after 'men' or 'unfit' before it?

¹² For 'with'

¹³ '4 hee' written and cancelled

¹⁴ For 'writings'.

¹⁵ Parallel pencil marks in margin, covering 2 lines.

¹⁶ For 'the'

¹⁷ The first book, *The Equity* (1587), has no name; *The Exhortation* (1588), *A Defence of that which hath been written* (1588), *A viewe of some part* (1589), *Th' Appellation* (1589), *Reformation No Enemy* (1590), all have Penry's name, the only works which do not seem to have it are the *Briefe Discovery* and the translation of Beza's *Propositions and Principles* (1591).

disclaymed the prelates and their dealing, layed them open unto the world, to their discovery unto hir maiestie and the state, as possible I was able¹ And shold I come unto thes secrett shiffes [*sic*, shiffes], as to oppugne² them under a visor. No they shall well know by the grac of god, that as I assayl them oppenly so I will by the power³ of the Lord foyle them openly. Yf they think to have advantag agaynst mee by Martyns writings, whie do they not seek⁴ the same in myne owne, where they may have the []⁵ at mee. I canot avoyd⁶ their charg yf they can shew⁷ it to bee dangerous to writ[e] agayst the clergie to lay open their injurious dealing, the corruptions of their places their hatred unto gods truth, their persecuting of his sayntes, of all these thinges I have charged them and do charg them openly even befor the face of the sun, and that in such sort as they may have have [*sic*, many] tymes more matter agaynst me out of myne owne writings then out of Martens doinges yf I were Marten⁸ And yf this bee not prejudiciall unto their state, and advantaging them, yt is but folly for them to accuse Marten and to seek for him agaynst whom yf he wear in their handes they canot have any thing so directly, as agaynst mee. But they shew how they fly the light, in [32 *right*] seeking him whoe will not bee found, to answeere them whoe ganot [*sic*] be gotten to complayne, or to accuse.

⁹ Lastly Marten him self hath evidently cleared mee in his writings by affirming him self in one¹⁰ [of] the last bookes hee made to bee unmarried, whereas it is openly¹¹ knowen that I had both a wif and also a child or more, even long befor that tyme, nay I was maryed befor¹² Marten or any Martinist as the[y] are called was knowen in England

¹³ And for myne owne part my Lord, I thank god I have been¹⁴ farr from publishing any lyes and untruthes in my writings. And yf I shold bee so voyd of the fear of god, as not to stick to utter untruthes openly unto the world, the prelates may think their labour lost,¹⁵ in seeking for Marten, in any wyse except they have greater proofs then I know they can have¹⁶ I wold¹⁷ not bee afrayd to deale untruly in my printed writings when no man urged mee therunto¹⁸ they may well think

¹ Margin (small and difficult): 'Lastly my dealing [] hath been such [] for the supporting [?] stay [?] of this cause as some of thes [] [] unto my hand in writing'

² For 'laye'

³ For 'by the grac'.

⁴ For 'think'

⁵ Two words difficult, possibly 'broad sword'

⁶ For 'fly the []'.

⁷ 'mee to be guilty of []' cancelled.

⁸ 'and that

I were Marten' written in small between lines and in margin

⁹ Parallel pencil marks in margin covering four lines

¹⁰ 'in the last' first written, then 'one' written above caret, and 'of' forgotten

¹¹ 'w', probably beginning of 'well', crossed out

¹² Penry wrote 'long befor', then crossed out 'long' In fact, it was a near thing Penry was married in September, 1588, the *Epistle* came out about the middle of October

¹³ Large asterisk in ink in margin, covering 4 lines

¹⁴ 'have been' substituted for indecipherable cancelled word

¹⁵ 'to' cancelled

¹⁶ 'in any wise can have' written between lines, very small, one or two words uncertain.

¹⁷ For 'shold'.

¹⁸ 'I will not bee afrayd to do the lyk, when it shall benefitt befor the seat of justic. And the' cancelled

that I will not stick to do the lyk whensoever it may¹ promise mee deliveranc out of more imminent danger² *But my Lord I dare³ not tell a ly willfully wrttingly and deliberately no not to save the lyf of any soule. And hee which seeth the heart knoweth that I never writ ly in my lyf that I know of in my bookes* Werfor yf my wordes may deliver mee⁴ from this⁵ accusation, I trust your Lordship seeth how clear I ame, yf otherwise I can bee proved to bee the man I refuse no triall I desier⁶ not that this my owne testimony [33 left] may clear mee. Marten sayeth some three years synce that hee was never maryed in his lyf. I was maryed and had a child⁷ long befor that tyme And therefore Marten must bee els wher sought for then in my person. I will goe no further in this poynt. But heer⁸ I must tell your Lord that althoug⁹

And surely if the prelates wold deal for their credit mee thinks, it wear meetest for them to lett Marten dy of him self,¹⁰ and not rayse up his gost after this sort whenas hee is content¹¹ to bee buried Yf they will not rak for him, to the farther discovery of their owne shame, yt is now towards 4 yeares sync hee wrote last¹² the man will dy whosoever hee was befor his writing I mak no question And I think it wear not good for them, that hee shold bee provoked to writ[e] any more. And this I dare assure your Lordshipe that yf I wear a thousand tymes in their handes, they are never the nearer to stopp Martens cours yf it pleas him to write.

But this is a strang case that Marten disclaiming mee and clearing mee I disclaiming him and []¹³ him the prelates notwithstanding will¹⁴ ctt no names therat for him but myne¹⁵ They might as well and wold I fear mee yf power wear in their handes charg my Lorde Thesurer yf it pleased them as John Penry. And this is true my Lord that one of their honours vz. Sir Robert Cicell was and is yet by many as iustly judged yea and¹⁶ as peremptoryly affirmed to bee Marten as ever John Penry was.

¹⁷ Can you marvell at Marten justic their is none to bee had.

And verily my Lord exept redress be had wee must lay open this dealing unto the world, thoughe I trust in a most [*sic*, more] justifiable sort yf redress bee not had.

¹⁸ But heer I must tell your Lordship not [*sic*, that]¹⁹ I speak not because I think him to bee eyther of their honours befor mencioned,²⁰ that althoughe I dislyk all

¹ For 'sha[ll]'

² Ornamental ink marking in margin covering second half of underlined words

³ For 'tha[nk]'

⁴ Words written over, difficult 'my circumstances can [clear if reason?]'

⁵ 'unjust' crossed out

⁶ For 'refuse'

⁷ For 'an ynfant'

⁸ 'mee thinks' cancelled

⁹ Sentence stops

¹⁰ For 'that dy of it self'

¹¹ 'befor' crossed out. The hand has now become very tiny

¹² 'yt is . . . last' written in

¹³ The word seems to be 'accusing', but could Penry mean this?

¹⁴ Word cancelled.

¹⁵ The line 'ctt . . .' is written very small, but above it is a line in an even tinier hand: 'putt no man on his tryall but myne self that they []'.

¹⁶ 'pr' cancelled

¹⁷ The writing becomes a little larger

¹⁸ Space, about half-an-inch, in MS

¹⁹ 'that althoughe' crossed out, 'not' left in by mistake

²⁰ But in this draft only 'Sir Robert Cicell' has been mentioned Essex is joined with him in another draft (see below, p 70)

libelling and undutifull practises from my heart, that it is no []¹ thing to see Rome and Romanistes discovered in their evell dealing unto the world. For hee that sitteth in heaven laughing at the enterprises of his enemyes, will in his just judgment have them derided at and contemned amongst men also upon Earth.

They are by their offices my Lord members of that abhominable² and cursed beast Antichrist³ the great enemy of Jesus Christ and will not heare. This beast hath begunne to fall befor the face of the lamb, and hee⁴ will never leave him untill hee [33 *right*] bee utterly rooted [?] [out] amongst men.

Can you marvell at Marten my Lord While this day under the canope of heaven their is not more fearfull injustic comitted by the most savag Tirantes⁵ then ar by⁶ agaynst the members of Christ justic wee can gett none agaynst⁶ they may doe what they will, so they do us injury that stand agaynst⁶

⁷ Wee can have no redress no relaxation by any meanes from their injurious dealing. This is the thirde tyme now that I come unto your Honour with most bitter complaynts agaynst them desiring your Lordship but to pittie at least the stat of my poor persecuted brethren though not myne owne⁸ though not my state for lett mee bee []⁹ lett mee bee what myne enemyes will have mee to bee for what I ame that is a poor servant of Christ, and a dutifull subject unto my princ and contrey can I not bee [free] from their unconscionable slanders¹⁰ But my Lord they are not the authors of Marten. And yet behold in regard of their unto-ward estat, it wear farr better for them to bee going unto Smithfield then to bee living in that misery, cold nakednes,¹¹ the¹² undoing of their wives and children as now¹³ they are in.

And I speak now but of new matters that have fallen out synce my first letter was written unto your Lordship.¹⁴

My Lord you know not the injurious evell dealing offered unto us yf this bee any thing. For a honest mans wif¹⁵ woman giving suck¹⁶ to bee thrust into the counter all night from hir child to ly their in the hole¹⁷, among lewd malefactors,¹⁸ hir poor infant in the meane tyme gasping at home for the mother and uttering¹⁹ a speachless [34 *left*] cry unto²⁰ the god that feedeth the yong ravens calling upon him for vengeanc agaynst this extream cruelty Where live wee my Lord in the

¹ Uncertain word, perhaps 'new'.

² For 'great'

³ Written in small. 'as the spirit of [the] Lord calleth the enemye [] of syn the great'

⁴ For 'and the'

⁵ May be 'Tribes' A word written above, may be 'knowne', makes reading difficult

⁶ Word missing in three places, may be 'them'

⁷ Margin 'Oppression maketh a wise man madd' Eccles vii 7 Cf below, p 94

⁸ 'at least owne' written in small, above a caret

⁹ Undeciphered word

¹⁰ 'desiring your Lordship to pittie I say to pittie the state of my poor brethren that are now in most miserable prisonnes most unnaturally handled' cancelled

¹¹ 'hunger' cancelled

¹² Word cancelled

¹³ 'many of them' cancelled.

¹⁴ Margin 'Call yf not for the prelates yet for Mr Yong and call for thos which hee hath comitted and as [?] ask] for the dead man murdered by him, as it is sayd and see how they were rifled.'

¹⁵ 'honest mans wif' written in, 'a' altered to 'an', but 'woman' allowed to stay

¹⁶ 'to hir children' cancelled

¹⁷ For 'comon jayl', then 'yf she hath not very many evell dispo[sed]' cancelled.

¹⁸ For word cancelled, probably 'persones'

¹⁹ Blot may obscure a word

²⁰ For 'of'.

land of our enemyes or in our native contrey? Wee ar content to bear the strok of Queen Elizabeth, as mildly as wee wold the rod of our naturall fathers and mothers, yet wee may speak when¹ the hand presseth over sore and over unreasonable [?] Are wee a free people under our naturall princ, or are we² held for slaves and bond-servantes under some cruell and unjust tyrant

Wee ar savagly³

If this bee injury that sayd mother having 3 yong children at home, and but a poor maide to keep them, shold hav hir children sent unto the conter unto hir, and hir maid clapped close in Bridwell wher as yet shee lyeth Yf this bee injury for the said mother being⁴ lett out and going to the party that had comitted⁵ both hir maid and hir self shold bee so haled and pulled, that hir clothes wear torne of⁶ hir backe, and shee⁷ fell dead in the very open street so that the pasengers by wear⁸ pittie enforced to bring such thinges as wold recover lyf in her agayne.

Our usag is savag my Lord⁹, yf this bee any injury, for the husband being the hand to feed both him self and eyther 6 or 7 more shold now lye in the clunk, eyther¹⁰ to the danger of his lyf in the hole, or at 14s a week charges, wheras eyther hee or his poor wif and infantes at home nay both must want¹¹ the very covering of their skin as the Lord sayeth yf hee continue their any longer.

I remember my Lord your highe place, waughty affayres, your grey heyres and ag, and therfor I ame enforced to bear in the []¹² of a most lamentable and necessary¹³ complaynt, ¹⁴ Marten having untymly drawen mee to the former apologie unto your honour.

¹⁵ The prelates ar the cause of all this, and Mr Richard Young the executioner of this blood. I crave in the behalf of these, and of many others that you wold but see them eyther delivered out of this misery even putt out of this lif yf hir maiestie think the earth [34 *right*] not worthy to beare us wee desier but the benefitt of day-light and the 4 elementes under hir highnes. Yf that their bee not roome both for hir and us yf shee have conceived so deep an impression of dislyk agaynst us¹⁶ as we both wee and shee canot¹⁷

Yf shee thinketh us unworthy to¹⁸ live with hir lett us yet dy under hir raing and by hir hand,¹⁹ The continuanc of this our misery will but aggravat the evell dealing amongst posterity Yf shee knoweth not of it my Lord as I am perswaded shee doth not, you are bound to mak it knowen unto hir, and to see that²⁰ wee may have the liberty eyther to dy or to live under hir raing for this²¹ cours nether suffereth

¹ For 'may speak truth unto'

² 'Slaves' cancelled

³ Broken sentence

⁴ For unfinished word

⁵ 'her' cancelled

⁶ 'of' duplicated

⁷ Marginal marks in pencil covering 6 lines.

⁸ Word cancelled, perhaps misspelling.

⁹ 'The prelates the cause of' crossed out

¹⁰ For 'at'.

¹¹ These words difficult

¹² Undeciphered words in margin, 'bear' may be 'have', word after 'in the' ends 'dest'.

¹³ 'lamentable and necessary' written above, 'necessary' below

¹⁴ 'having been already drawen' cancelled.

¹⁵ Marginal pencil marks, covering 4 lines

¹⁶ 'lett us yet be rid [?]' out of our prisoners' cancelled

¹⁷ Sentence unfinished

¹⁸ For 'f[or]'

¹⁹ 'yet will' cancelled

²⁰ 'our usage' cancelled.

²¹ 'will bring us unto but unto [?]' cancelled.

us to live nor yet to dy under hir maestie This cruelty canot bee hidden And veryly my Lord exept redress bee had wee must lay our cause open unto the world, and even ¹ the injury which your Lordship do ² unto us in particuler in that you will not procure us justic.

At the least wise my Lord you may in the meane tyme stay the rag[e] of these Tygres³ and lett the poor men bee bayled which are thus hardly delt with untill such tyme, as ⁴ the deserved benefitt of their ennocency may bee granted unto them.⁵ Yf you do not this my Lord you must give mee leave to bee playn with you. I look not that you shall escape the heavy hand of the just judg.

Touching the preachers of the land my Lord I canot send any of them unto your Lordship For the differences between mee and thos who are accounted the forwardest of them ar so great, that I know ⁶ they wold not greatly plead on my behalf⁷; some of the speciall poynts wherin I know them to bee ⁸ grievous transgressors of the Lordes morall commandement I have sent ⁹ herein enclosed [35 *left*] unto your Lordship desiring your honour to consider seriously of them at your leysur For they are of wayght, as neerly concerning the glory of Jesus Christ.

[and ?] could be bayled by your Lord¹⁰

5. Revised draft of part of previous letter referring to the charge of being Martin Marprelate.

This to be found on pp 48 *left reversed* and 47 *right reversed*, in the fair-copy hand The alterations and additions are important Initial 'v' changed to 'u' in several places

[48 *left reversed*]

I repaire unto you R. ho. for equitie and iustice in the cause of the lyving Lord, and not for anie defence or protection to cover any breach of her Maesties Lawes that I haue incurred My iust suite if you repell I must complaine unto the Lord, and refer my cause unto him who will surely heare me :¹¹ And altho I doo and will also earnestly beseech him not to lay this your sinne unto your chardge, yet know this that he is a gelous God, with whom you deale. I desire nothing but that you stop not your eare against the complaint of the innocent wydow and the fatherlesse, that you suffer them not to be devowred of unrighteous and most savage tyrantes My desire is most equall both for my self and my breth. and that is that

¹ 'your evell dealing in particular my Lord when in that' cancelled.

² For cancelled word

³ 'of these vultures' crossed out, some words, partly cancelled, written above, very tiny and difficult, probably 'pursuit of ("thes tiges" , crossed out) us by theis tiges'

⁴ Some minor cancellation here

⁵ Two lines written above a caret, and continued in margin, almost impossible to read (about half-a-line is represented by the brackets) . 'and lett Mr Justic Yong unjust hand be stayed in the meane tyme, who shall deliver [] of the almighty without his repentance for all the cruel dealings and saunges that he hath used by speak[ing] and done agaynst us'

⁶ 'know' duplicated and cancelled

⁷ 'yf meanes sh[old]' cancelled

⁸ For 'judg them to bee'

⁹ 'sent' may be crossed out

¹⁰ Penry probably intended to cancel this, for the preceding line is scored out: 'yf such [?] of my brethren now in duanc were bound [?]' Penry's criticisms of the 'forward preachers' do not appear in the notebook

¹¹ For 'will'.

we may bee called to our tryall, or haue the lybertie of subiectes in the meane tyme. Wee refuse not to answere unto anethyng that our Adversaries can chardge us

The Prelates say (as your ho. reporteth) that I am Mart. Mar. I answere, that my name is John Penrye, and not Mart. I answere that I desire to be called to my tryall in this point, and beeing found gyltie, let me not be favored, but let the Lawe take place I answere, if it be sufficient to accuse, that no man can be innocent. I answere that the heathen judge could say that it was not the maner of the Romans beeing heathen also to delyver anie man unto death or punishment before that he which is accused haue the accusers before him, and haue place to defend him self concerning the crime. And may not I procure this extremitie of favour to my self in a state professing Christ Jesus? I answere that a gent. of worship Mr Job Throgmo was indicted for Mart and what Law is this my Lo that Mr. Throg. should be beaten for that fault whereof Jo Penry is said to be gyltie? Doth not this shew that iudgment is turned to gall and wormwood in the furrowes of our felides, Sathan that guydeth these Prel[ates] openly declareth theyr mad rage against the truth, and publisheth their mallice unto all men in that they care not whom to accuse, whom to indight, whom to condemne, so he be of theyr number whom they cannot brooke

Now [?] my L Altho my only appollogie unto the Prel shalbe the putting of them to trye theyr accusation, yet that your ho. may see that I make more accompt of my Lo. Tres (as great reason there is I should) then I doo of all the Prel and Priestes under heaven, I will set downe truth, and [47 right reversed] nothing but truth touching myne innocencie in this matter.

When these bookes of Mart. were first published I am well known to haue disliked and disclaymed them in such sort, as I wished but to haue been privie unto manie thinges there set downe, which I saw not only unustifiable, but somthing yrksome to be read even of mee who altogether detested the whole band of the Rom. Prel. Nay I was so far from approving of the bookes that comming some dozen myles from the place of myne abode then to meete my frend the gent. before named I signified unto him that such new bookes against the Clergie were publi. which I would haue brought with me unto him, but that I greatly dislyked manie thinges in them. This was at such tyme my Lo. as it was reported euerywhere that Mart. was highly esteemed in Court, yea and som of theyr honours namely the Earle of Essex and Sr. Ro Cecill generally given out to be Mar.

And as to Mr. Throg., who hath been unustly troubled for the Marprel I dare assure your Lordship that at that tyme he had not seene anie of Mart. bookes eyther written or printed And that he was so far from beeing privie eyther to the wryting or publishing of them, as under heaven he knew not whom to suspect for the author of them. These thinges I wryte not for anie favor or familyaritie which at this present I haue¹ with the gent. For it is well knowne that he beeing of the same iudgment with the Prechers of the Land differeth from me at this present as far in a maner as ever Mart. did from the Prel. Only I am bound in conscience to yeild this true testimonie unto his innocencie. And I must needes say, that his gyftes of wisdome and learning, his loyaltie unto his Prince, their ho. and his Contrey, the reverence which he caryeth towards her Maiesties goverment hit [sic] deserveth

¹ For 'write'.

better entreatie then to be indighted as a fellow for the pleasure of a few malicious Priestes and theyr complices

But to my self againe, I disliked manie thinges in Mart. both for his maner and matter of wryting Unseemely iestes uncomly rayling I allow not, and rudge them more beseeing the Prel and theyr Parrasites then anie modest Christian.

All the particulers which I disliked I purpose not to rehearse nether can I, because I protest unto you that I know not what are in all his bookes, I know not possibly where to get them, or would bestow the labor to reade anie of them if I could If ever I read them, it was so cursorily as I greatly heeded them not. But this one particuler for his maner and matter I greatly disliked vz. that which he set downe touching him whom they call the ArchB of Cant A long storie or mome ther is touching his clokebag carying touching his service don to D. Perne and I wot not what. I am sorie that I am enforced to trouble my selfe but specially your ho. with such stuffe

6. Another letter to Burghley.

About an interview, in neater hand, much overwritten and cancelled

[26 left]

I dare not right honorable injury [*sic*] your Lordship so farr, as to [sett down with]¹ myself that you wold wish mee to come unto your H for my hurt,² especially for the hurt or hinderanc of the cause wherin I stand For that wear a part of such³ dishonourable oversight I will not say perfidie⁴ in a personag of my Lord Thesarares place authority and wisdom,⁵ as posterity might bee astonyed []⁶ and the enviours of his honour justly rejoyc therat. Yet not well understanding by my wife whether your Lordships pleasur bee that I shold repayr unto you; I have agayn directed hir unto your H. to know⁷ your mynd more fully in that poynt.⁸

Now yf it bee your will⁹ that I shall come unto your Lordship¹⁰ I crave twee thinges at your handes,¹¹ the one, that you wold vouchaf mee¹² the direction how I may have access¹³ unto your presenc. For otherwise the¹⁴ meannes of my presenc, befor that it may bee necessary [?] for mee to reveal my name unto any befor I com at your Lordshipe,¹⁵ is such as I¹⁶ can have no hope to speak with you¹⁷ and I may well fear lest I shold bee surprised by the layinges awayt of my bloody persecutours¹⁸

¹ For 'think', some unreadable cancellation, much overwriting

² 'yet not well understanding by your wordes unto my wife whether your Honours [Lordes] pleasure and command [?] bee that I shold repayr unto your Lordship' cancelled.

³ For 'that'

⁴ 'as I protest that I dare not as conceive it' cancelled.

⁵ Three lines here emphasized in margin by parallel pencil marks

⁶ 'therat' cancelled, undeciphered words written below

⁷ For 'understand', 'honours' cancelled before 'mynd', 'farther' after it

⁸ Four lines cancelled 'And marvell not my Lord that I hasten not unto this bisnes For seest thow a man hasty in his matters sayeth the spirit of god (for "Lord" cancelled) ther is more hope of a fool then of such a one' [The reference is to Prov xxix 20]

⁹ For 'Lordshipes plea[sure]'

¹⁰ For 'presenc'

¹¹ For 'of you'

¹² For 'give mee some'

¹³ For 'come'

¹⁴ For 'I' ¹⁵ 'befor

Lordshipe' written in, very small, one word undeciphered

¹⁶ 'your' cancelled

¹⁷ For 'of access'

¹⁸ For 'enemies'

in the tyme of myne attendance The other is that which ¹ King Zedekiah in the lyk case ² promised unto his naturall ³ subject Jiremy the prophett, and the prophett required at the handes even of his princ. And that is that you swear unto mee by the Lord even promise upon the word of your honour, as you shall answer befor the just therin, ⁴ that you will not deliver mee into the handes of the men that seek my lyf even send me to Jehonathans house to dy ther. ⁵ For my Lord althoughe ⁶ by the grac of my god, I ⁷ fear not in this cause whatsoever is ⁸ [26 right] mortale, yet I dare not in regard of the testimony which I have to bear one the behalfe of my master the Lord Jesus, bee so carless of my lif ⁹ as to shorten my dayes by suffering my self yf I cane any wise avoyd, to be throwen by these Roman prelates and priestes into the dungeon their to bee laden with irons ¹⁰ and to dy for [sic, from] hunger or cold in the place wher I shall lye. For ¹¹ this answer as the Lord liveth wilbe the best of my entertaynment, ¹² with this Antichristian generation yf their purposes [?] ¹³ agaynst mee may prevayle, exept I shall ¹⁴ bee content that in stead of the body they may ¹⁵ slay the soule that is yeald[ed] unto them contrary unto a good conscienc.

And therfor my Lord agayn remember my bloud, Remember that ¹⁶ you shalbe indighted and convicted for the same in case you suffer it to be spilt especially ¹⁷ seing I com ¹⁸ unto you, as a lamb unto his shearer I have not ¹⁹ offended

²⁰ What have I done, ²¹ and what is myne synne, ²² that I shold dye this daye ²³ by the handes of these prelates. Nay ²⁴ my Lord yf their bee iniquity found in mee Lett mee dy by hir maiesties hand and my Lord Thesaureres. For whie shold I bee delivered unto these Romanistes? I have not offended them, any otherwise then they stumble ²⁵ at the truth wherat they shalbe utterly broken at the length. I charge them with no other thing then ²⁶ what I ame bound [27 left 27] to testify agaynst them even by the oth of my fayth and allegianc unto hir maiesties supremacy ²⁸ which I have taken, and that is that they standing by vertue of a forragn power

¹ 'Jiremy the prophett of god required in the lyk case at the handes even of his princ' cancelled

² These four words written above caret in sentence already written in

³ 'naturall' duplicated ⁴ 'as therin' written in, small

⁵ Margin 'Jir 38'

⁶ 'I' before 'althoughe' and 'I fear not' after it cancelled

⁷ Fragment cancelled before I

⁸ 'under' cancelled

⁹ For 'self'

¹⁰ 'dye for hunger, cold' cancelled

¹¹ For 'And'

¹² For 'my entertaynment, yf the'

¹³ May be 'practices' wrongly spelt

¹⁴ For 'shold'

¹⁵ For 'shall'

¹⁶ Margin 'Prov 24 11. 12'

¹⁷ 'in case especially' written above for 'Remember that this ["for" cancelled] wilbe [?] land that this wilbe [?] land, shall vomitt out hir inhabitantes by the just judgment of God'—Penry has Lev xviii 24 in mind—and in margin 'Sav thow mee not this day'

¹⁸ For 'coming'

¹⁹ 'not' duplicated, one cancelled.

²⁰ Margin '1 Saml. 20 1'

²¹ For 'is my synne'

²² For 'iniquity', 'myne' left

²³ An excellent illustration of the problems of transcription: 'die' and 'day' look exactly alike

²⁴ For 'For'

²⁵ Word ending in '-ally' written above 'stumble'.

²⁶ 'with no other thing then that which' cancelled

²⁷ At the head of the page is an unfinished line which interrupts the sentence and perhaps does not relate to the subject: 'This shalbe mencioned whatsoever cometh of the'.

²⁸ 'supremacy' may be crossed out

being forraign persones by vertue of their offic shold not have the preheminenc¹ to [?do] sitt in hir maiesties conscienc and in the consciences of hir subjectes. I charg them ·1· in their offices. ·2· in the maner of their calling unto their offices, 3 in the execution of their offices, 4 in their mayntenanc adjoynd unto their offices² to bee from Antichrist and not frome Jesus Christ And hereof I prove unto them not even all the prelates and priestes of the land to bee guilty even³ yf I⁴ eyther prove them not to bee so in the conscienc of hir maiestie and your honours or els enforc them to deny the truth of Christes gospell established by hir highnes, lett mee dy the death without mercy and my bloud bee upon myne owne head. Nay yf I prove⁵ not by the very same prohibitions []⁶ of all the lawes of this land⁷ that hir maiestie hath promised [?] hir faythfull oth unto the Lord Jesus⁸ to thrust them all out of the land ever[y] prelat priest decon deane canon prebend, and that shee hath in hir late proclamations required mee as all of hir subjectes to advertis hir and hir counsell in this poynt of the expelling⁹ these deliver thow mee at this daye Lord from the hand of myne []¹⁰ enemyes What is my synn then, and what is my offenc agaynst thes prelates and priestes

And as unto my soveraign princ Queen Elizabeth, and to my Lord Burghley they in hunting after a flea or a dead dogg as I ame, even in suffering mee to bee thus pursued by thes []¹¹ doe¹² recompens¹³ mee evell for good.

For Lord thow knowest that I have often stood befor thee to speak good for them and to turne away thy wrath for [sic] them. Thou knowest that I have instantly¹⁴ often mad[e?] prayes and thankes giving unto thy maiestie yf ever thow wouldest vouchaf mee the favour to see them delivered from this Antichristian yok, and give [?] their names to bee written among the living in Jerushalem heer upon the earth. Thou knowest that althoughe I bee falsly slandered to bee an enemy unto my princ and stat [?] and contrey that yet I desier not to live more then to performe all dutifullnes towards my soveraign Queen ther honours and my []¹⁵ native contrey. And shold¹⁶ hir maiestie then or your honour my Lord suffer a pytt to bee digged for my innocent bloud.

Thus I thought good befor I come unto your Lordship to mak this my last will and testament¹⁷ for aught I know if I fall into the handes of thes Romish murderers, to seale it and send [?] it unto you whome with hir maiestie I do by these presentes mak eyther the full executors [?] of my death or the sole preservers of my lif. [27 right]

¹ 'being' . 'preheminc' written in small, other additions undeciphered

² For 'places'

³ 'hereof' even' written between lines, and it is not clear precisely where it fits

⁴ 'prove' cancelled ⁵ 'them' cancelled.

⁶ Word undeciphered

⁷ From this point to the end of the paragraph written between lines and in 'margin'

⁸ 'both' cancelled ⁹ 'of' cancelled

¹⁰ Word ending in '-less'.

¹¹ Word unread.

¹² For 'th'.

¹³ For 'reward' These three lines, much overwritten, have two parallel pencil marks in margin

¹⁴ Word uncertain, edge of page

¹⁵ An asterisk is attached to this undeciphered word, which may be another 'native', and a line drawn to the conclusion of the sentence at the top of p 27 right

¹⁶ 'they then thus' cancelled

¹⁷ A second 'testament' and some other words cancelled.

And my Lord yf you shold deliver mee unto the handes of my adversaries (as I am perswaded¹ you will not) then shall this my letter left behind mee when I ame gathered all hastily [?] to my fathers become the memoriall of your name amongst men to be sett upon your grave²

even that you wear that man poynted out by the spirit of god,³ and therfor to bee taken heed unto even in these wordes Hee that hateth will counterfayt with his⁴ lippes but⁵ in his hart he layeth up deceyt though [?] he speak favorablie believe him not for their are seven abominationes in his hart Hatred may be covered by deceyt, but the malic therof shalbe declared in the congregation And call to mynd that the man which doth violenc agaynst the bloud of a person shall fly to the grave and they shall not stay him

But yf as I hope you shall deal truly with mee and my master Jesus Christ in this my messag and coming unto your Lord then shall this by [*sic*, be] your title and stile in the ages to⁶ come, even that true description of a noble⁷ and worthy consellour

I lay both before you my Lord, be at your choyse yea and perill bee it which⁸ you tak⁹

And so expecting your aunswer I ame ready to comitt what I have bequeathed unto hir maesties handes¹⁰ and your Lordshipes your grave will deserve eyther the one or the other of these inscriptions thus waiting your Lordship favorabl aunswer I entreat the Lord to continue¹¹ and end your dayes in his blessed favour

Your Lordes Your most humble to bee commanded in the Lord

John Penry

The two alternatives Penry offered to Burghley follow on 28 *left*, though they open abruptly, as if the beginning appears elsewhere The Scripture references are in the margin

Amos 5 10 amongst men vz [?] that you hated him etc¹²

Prov. 29 24 That you¹³ wear a partner with those unjust oppressours, and therfor hated your owne soule, yf

Prov. 1. 18 you privily ly in wayt for my bloud with them, and therfor are to remember that the man that

Prov. 28. 17 doth violenc agaynst the bloud of a person shall fly.

But yf on the other

¹ Much cancellation here

² A long cancellation of 7 lines, overwritten and difficult, in which Penry clumsily applies Prov xxvi 24-26, follows, making a better attempt in the next paragraph 'whether I live or dy you will hear [?] truth at my handes, my Lord, that though you hated a man [for "mee"], yet you cold counterfayt with your lippes even then when he lodged deceyt in his hart though you speak fayvorable unto a man yet you wear not to be believed, because they wear many abhominations in your hart [for "in his hart"] Your [or "His"] hatred you [for "he"] were [for "might bee"] able by your wisdom, to cover for a while, "but my death hath" cancelled, wheras my [undeciphered word, perhaps "trouble"]

³ Margin 'Prov 26 25 26'

⁴ For 'pretend otherwise', 'with his' duplicated

⁵ For 'though he'

⁶ 'to' repeated

⁷ For 'a worthy'.

⁸ For 'whether'

⁹ Margin 'Isa 22 21 Isa 16. 5 Isa 32 2. 3 4'

¹⁰ For 'your handes'

¹¹ For 'end'

¹² Perhaps 'etc' or 'him' duplicated

¹³ 'abhorred him' cancelled.

Isa. 22 21 of a true nobleman and worthy counsellour he was a father unto
 and 16 5 all her maiesties distressed subjectes, judging and seeking judg-
 Isa 32 2 3. 4 ment, and hasting to do justic unto hir¹ people And that man
 was, etc
 The eyes of the seing man wer not shutt in the dayes of his author-
 ity The heart of the fulish [?] understand knowleg and the
 tong of the stammerer spak distinctly by his meanes

Your grave my Lord will deserve eyther of thes inscriptions. I lay them both
 befor you, at your owne charg² yea and perill be it whether of them you tak And
 so expecting your Lordship favorable answer I entreat the Lord of heaven³

Nay yf I [prove] not that hir maestie []⁴ and your LL I think hath
 promised hir faythfull []⁵ and promise unto Jesus Chr the princ of the
 kinges of the earth both to thrust this whol Romish brood [?] out of hir kingdom,
 from the highest prelat unto the very lowest popish prieste [?] and also to establish
 the true order of the church among hir subjectes, And yf I prove not that shee hath
 in hir late proclamation agaynst the Spanish practises to advertise hir and hir
 counsell in this poynt of expelling the sayd Italian prelatie in their [28 *right*] offices,
 callinge, workes and mayntenanc.⁶

7. Paragraphs for incorporating in letters to Burghley.

These are written in the small neat hand, much marked in margin for use at the trial.

[28 *right*]

If they can charg mee with nothing bring mee befor them, and I will charg
 them and prove it too.⁷

Wear [? We ar] to bee governed by none but by reprobates.

⁸ Mr. Cranmer master Tindal built it thes present destroyed the same Kinge
 Hary the 8 permitted it and the Lord Cromwell helped it. Queen Elizabeth and
 the Lord Thesurer suffer it to bee pulled downe.⁹

I crav my Lord but æquity of hearing whatsoever the prelates can charg mee
 with I refuse not to aunswere unto the same. They say I ame Marten. lett
 them prove it and currat lex.

¹ 'all' cancelled

² The only two certain letters are 'ch', but 'charg' looks more probable than 'chois' which appears in the draft above, p 74, as 'choyse'.

³ Sentence breaks down.

⁴ Words cancelled, may be 'yf not'.

⁵ Word undeciphered

⁶ Sentence unfinished There is a word at the end of the line, which is the end of the item, which apparently has no connexion with it It might be anything from 'Robert' to 'Devill' or 'Deliverd', the last being most probable It may refer to the delivery of the letter to Burghley

⁷ May possibly be 'true'

⁸ Above this paragraph is an undeciphered word which looks more like 'Seneca' than anything else The paragraph itself has two parallel pencil lines in margin

⁹ 'Hary downe' written in, very small

¹ Yt is dangerous my Lordes to bee ambiguous in relligion, eyther truth or falshood wold bee embraced indifferency neutrallity can tak no place.

The man dead [] ² then his writings.

Questionless my Lord whether wee can be heard agaynst them or not our god wilbe heard.

You mayntayn them but my Lord ther dealinges can not be hidden they will break forth one way or other in the Lordes just judgment.

³ What law is this my Lord Job Throckmorton indighted,⁴ and John Penry sayd to be the author of it.

Despised and contemned in the world yett in favour with our god

⁵ Now [?] my Lord the hole is not onlye mad[e] throughe the wall, Ezek 8 but even the iniquity is declared openly manifestly clearly and Babel shall fall Is 47.

⁶ Remember my Lord that notable saying of Sigismund the Emperour and follow it that the Reformation is not to be begunne a minoritis but a majoritis. Follow his example and lett us [29 *left*] have but free heering, I do not doubt but you may do as much in the parliament of England as he could do in the counsell of Constanc agaynst ⁷ Pope John 24

They ar thē figg trees without fruit.

Lyf I desire not my Lord I protest unto you but this that I may doe good in the fear of the Lord.

Know what a judgment of god it is to have such guides such eyes, and even so it cometh to pass becaus the love of the truth is not in the heartes of men

Nay my Lord lett them know this that wee will thrust them out (their seat is thorny) yf wee shall hav grac not to mak peac with them.

I refuse the book and the book refuseth mee and cleareth mee ⁸ shall I mak it good.

Exod. 22. 27. Yf you had my garment to pledg my Lord you wear bound to heer mee becaus it is his garment for my skyn.

Martens [?] [] ⁹ he causeth [?] the Popes to bee laughed at mocking them him self and they call for a sword to slay them [?] *sic*, hum]

¹ Two parallel pencil lines in margin

² Short word undeciphered

³ For 'suspected'

⁴ Small cross in ink and the two pencil lines in margin

⁵ 'the' cancelled

⁶ The reference is to Marprelate See above, pp 65-6.

⁷ 'Martens' uncertain, and then one or two undeciphered words

⁸ Two parallel pencil lines in margin.

⁹ Two parallel pencil lines in margin

¹ a [] ² by succession, a tyrant by practise and shalbe damned in hell.

Two paragraphs, hastily written and very difficult, and marked by pencil lines in margin.

[25 *right, foot*]

I ame sory ³ that my Lord Treasurer should become [?] as [?] Gallio and not as [?] Davyd to [] ⁴ the cause of the [] ⁴

Wee will not tak such an aunswer of my Lord Theasurers wisdome.

[35 *left; neat hand, small; after gap*]

let them betray [?] ther Contrey [?] that wil I purpos to keep a clear conscienc.

They have putt the blood of war about them in the day of the peac which the whole land pretendeth to mak with Jesus Christ.

8. Draft of letter to the Council [?].

[40 *left, loose hand*]

I wold bee loth that England shold goe into captivity, because the synnes therof are not layd open and amended. I discharg then my conscienc heer befor your Lordship that you do evell in all that you tak on hand agaynst us his poor wittnesses by seing our oppression and misery, and not procuring the meanes, that wee may bee relieved. Seing you are bound unto god unto your princ and to us hir subjectes to see right judgement admynistered unto all, I testify unto you that you are lykly without your repentanc to ⁵ feel the Lordes hand for it yea in danger of hir maesties heavy displeasure heer upon earth in that you do lend your power overmuch to uphold and mayntayne the prelacy and priesthood of Antichrist and the rest of these godless corruptions remayning in this land. ⁶ Are you the judges of the land my Lordes and understand you not judgement nay measure you injustic and iniquity as with a ballanc whenas you goe about to bring us within the danger of recusantes for refusing the power of Antichrist, wheras the lawe is made agaynst those that submitt them selves unto hir jurisdiction Ys this your dealing with your princ and contrey nay with the Lord and his religion, that you will ⁷ fynd law in forc to compell us to mass yf the same wear established in the parish assemblies of the land. Whie my Lordes hir maestie hath no law to compell hir subjectes unto mass, and yet your dealing is such in convicting ⁸ us for recusantes because wee will not come to the parish meetinges, ⁹ as you might ¹⁰ well in as great cause pass sentenc agaynst us for recusancy, yf we came not to mass [40 *right*] the same being their established: And therefore I evidently [?] ¹¹ prove [?] the saying of the holy man

¹ Detached from the other paragraphs, probably a stray note, the last item on the page.

² Short undeciphered word ending in 'k'.

³ One word, or maybe two, undeciphered before 'sory'

⁴ Word undeciphered ⁵ 'smart for' crossed out

⁶ For 'hee[r]'.

⁷ Penry wavered several times between 'wil' and 'wold', and then chose wrongly

⁸ For 'compell'.

⁹ 'churches as they are called' crossed out

¹⁰ 'as' crossed out

¹¹ The first two letters look like 'ev', but the last three are 'dly' 'Outwardly' is just possible, but the balance is in favour of 'evidently'

Job¹ to be herein verifed in your persones, that great men are not allwayes [wise],² and that the ancyent do not allwayes³ understand judgement.

The dealing my Lordes is not for your credit not beseming your places and sacred authority For the judgement which you admynister is not mans but gods And therfor take heed of perverting the same, for injustic and the oppression of the poor in the gate especially the oppression of the members of Christ is a fyre that consumeth unto hell The crye of the bloud of the sayntes⁴ will in the just judgment of god leave you neyther name nor memoriall amongst men, yf you deserve the same I accuse you not, I charg you not only I warne your Lordshipes, that you exercise⁵ not your power and authority agaynst us poor and despised men. Nay the living god warneth you theroff under a most severe penalty

Spoyle not the poor becaus hee is poor, neyther oppress the afflicted in judgement. For the Lord will defend their cause, and spoyle the soule of those that spoyle them.⁶ I protest unto you my Lordes, that it grieveth mee to think that your Lordship being [in] this lyf reckned among the wise shold have your names⁷ written among the foolish at your death. Therfor lett my entreaty bee precious in your sight, and bee not seen any longer to mayntayn and favour the spirituall conspiracy that⁸ the prelacy of this land have rayسد agaynst Jesus Christ, yf you do certaynly you shall not prosper. For although many great men have in all ages oposed [?] them selves agaynst him, and his truth⁹ yet have they come all of them unto¹⁰ [41 left] shamfull ruine, and now they remayne in a much more fearfull estate then the most miserablen upon earth. Great and fearfull are the judgements that abyde all those whoe strive and fight for the beast, that is the religion of Antichrists [sic] in any of his members and markes,¹¹ and therfor I had rather my Lordes that you shold bee offended with mee nay that I shold loose my lif then that your Lordshipes shold not escape that danger And this is all the evell will that I owe unto your persones or places or yet unto the greatest enemy that I have yf I have any this day under heaven.

[41 left; margin¹²]

I ame ready and most willing to comitt my self unto your handes my Lordes ; but you must give mee leave, to tell you that eyther you canot or will not shew mee justic seing their are soe many of my brethren unjustly detayned and that under your handes yf not by your meanes for the very same cause wherin I stand. Grant them justic first my Lordes, and then I dare the more boldly comitt my self unto your handes Otherwise blame mee not yf the nulla retrorsum of the poet¹³ maketh

¹ Margin 'Job 32 9'

² An erasure after the comma, probably the beginning of 'no[r]'

³ 'do not allwayes' duplicated

⁴ 'And the crye of the bloud of the sayntes And' cancelled before this sentence

⁵ For 'use'

⁶ Margin: 'Proverb[s] 22. 22 23'

⁷ Frequent changes from singular to plural, and *vice versa*

⁸ For word cancelled

⁹ For 'cause'

¹⁰ 'unto' repeated

¹¹ Or 'workes'.

¹² The beginnings of the lines on this page are not easy to read because the margin is crowded with seven lines written lengthwise It is not clear where Penry intended them to be introduced, but this seems as suitable a place as any

¹³ See Horace, *Ep*, I 1 75.

Quia me vestigia terrent,
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum'

mee to suspect the favour of these tymes to bee no other then the refuges [?] of the naked

Yt is no new thing my Lordes to see the servantes of Christ bold in controlling states and great men ¹ when they direct not them selves according unto the will of the Lord. Wee must do it within our places and callinges when wee have opportunity least the Lorde shold destroy us, wee must bee heard least the Lord destroy them, that refuse to give ear ² unto his messag out of our mouthes. Yt wer more beseeming my ³ Lordes for men of your wisdome to ask and enquire for the abiding and ancyeat way and walk therin, and to bee an example unto us then to continue under the ordenances of Antichrist, and to deal heardly with us that refuse to yeald obedyenc unto those abhominations. Our only controversy is agaynst Antichrist, for the restitution of Christ[s] interest, your course being directly agaynst us consider whose soldyers [you] are and agaynst whome you fight.⁴ Your honours might justly think much, that eyther I, or any other shold use your Lordship any otherwise then wear beseeming your highe places, and our god in regard of his messag and testimony comitted unto us may as justly calle you to a reckoning for ⁵ our evell entreaty at your handes ⁶ hee will do it also my Lordes exsept you desist, and open the doores unto the prisoners that we have [*sic*, may] have cause to thank our god day and night one your behalf

Oh my Lordes you shold fynd that our prayers one your behalf [41 *right*] ⁷ and one the behalf of your familyes, wold procure the blessing of god to rest upon you and yours for your kindnes shewed unto him and us his poor servantes for his cause. Lett us bee called to the æquall triall of our cause and yf wee prove not that wee have even the very law of the land one our syde, wee desier no favour. Untill this bee granted I beseech your Lordship in the name of god, that you wold see the prisones emptyed and the poor delivered at the least upon Bayle whoe now ly in great misery ther for this cause of Christ. At least my Lord lett the twoe poor women (wherof ⁸ the one having ⁹ now three small infantes lying with hir and that without fyer or bedding in the comon Gaole) who wear comitted from the parliament house bee delivered.

Yf you ¹⁰ knew the great misery all that are in durance for this cause do ly ¹¹ I know you could not but pitty their estat. And surly [*sic*] my Lordes yf you will not give ear unto my cry one their befall [*sic*, behalf] it wilbe juste with the Lord god, that you shall cry and not bee heard.

¹ 'Wee must do it least the' cancelled

² For word cancelled

³ 'my' and 'your' written over

⁴ 'gaynsayd' cancelled before 'fight' and 'You might' after it

⁵ 'the injury' cancelled

⁶ Two lines crossed out 'your handes for his cause for witnessing with his sone Christe Jesus our Lord agaynst Antichrist his great enemye'.

⁷ A line written at the head of the page and cancelled has no connection with the petition, perhaps it was intended to be added to the four 'grievances' on p 36, above 'Detestable iniquity and extortion in prisones'

⁸ Word at edge of page and difficult, some other word seems to have been begun

⁹ Or 'hath', one word being superimposed on the other 'The one' was probably Mrs Penry

¹⁰ For 'your Lord'

¹¹ Several attempts at this sentence, including 'wherinn all do ly'

[41 *right*, after a gap of over an inch]

The former remnantes of Antichrist I purpos¹ to discover as² long as I have breath. my lif I ame ready to yeald for my testimony. But tak you heed my Lordes, that my bloud bee not found in your handes and shed by your meanes for bloud defileth the land sayeth the Lord, and the land canot bee clensed of the³ bloud⁴ that is shed therein but by the bloud of him that shed it.⁵

[42 *left*]

Thus my Lords having briefly layed open my cause unto [*sic*] and the cause of my brethren unto you, and testified befor you in what state⁶ you stand, and what it will cost you yf you goe one forward with a heavy hand agaynst⁷

9. To the council, or perhaps addressed to the lord keeper.

[23 *right*; loose hand]

That testimony my very good Lord which the poore witnesses and servantes of Christ do bear one the behalf of their master is appoynted⁸ by the determinat counsell of the almighty to come befor the counselloures and wise men of the earth, to the end that the⁹ shining brightnes and truth therof may appear conspicuous befor men in all heaven and earth.¹⁰

And therfor it is no wonderfull matter that his¹¹ cause now in my weak handes and in the handes of my poor brethren doth at this [time]¹² come befor your Lordshippes whose authority¹³ and wisdom I much and highly reverenc Only the Lord god grant you a discerning eye, that you may judg therof according unto truth, and not after the slanderous reportes which the professed adversaries¹⁴ have given owt touching the same.¹⁵ The cause my Lord I know in very [*sic*, my] very soule and conscienc the [*sic*, to] bee the undobted truth of the living god; and therfor all the world must bear with mee, that I deale not in it as in any¹⁶ thing being mans or proceeding from man least that my maister the Lord of lyf shold seaverly []¹⁷ chastiz mee for myne unfaythfulnes therein.

The cause my Lord is no quarell raysed agaynst settled states by factions and unbridled¹⁸ heades, but it is such, as concerneth the interest of the Sone of God Jesus Christ, and therfor to bee stood unto on our behalf, to bee favoured and []¹⁹ unto by your Lordes and as many as any wise are to deale therwith.

¹ 'not' crossed out

³ 'frome' cancelled

⁵ Margin 'Nomb[er]s 35 34 [*sic*, 33]'

⁷ Ends here, the page containing five lines only

⁸ For 'to come'

¹⁰ Penry wrote first 'befor heaven', and then added the rest

¹¹ For 'this' Parallel pencil marks opposite two lines

¹² Penry first wrote 'now', cancelled it, wrote 'at this', and forgot 'time'

¹³ 'and' substituted for 'places, great'

¹⁴ 'therof of the same' cancelled, but even then a superfluous 'the same' remains

¹⁵ For 'raysed agaynst'

¹⁶ For short word, cancelled

¹⁸ For 'unf'

² For 'unt[o]'

⁴ 'but by the' cancelled

⁶ For 'stand'

⁹ 'the' duplicated

¹⁷ Word of four letters undeciphered.

¹⁹ Looks as if Penry intended to write 'condescended', but the final 'ed' is missing and the first 's' comes before the first 'd'.

The Lord Jesus hath apoynted an holy mynistry to bee in his church.

But it is that action which the Sone of god hath in the mouthes of his servant comensed Agaynst Antichrist his great enemy, for the recovery of his owne right ¹

[24 *left*]

Christ Jesus wee hold to [have] appoynted an outward forme of the regiment of his owne house under the ²

The sum ³ wherof is

⁴ that Christ Jesus having appoynted an holy society of his sayntes to bee heer upon earth, that is a [*sic*, hee] hath also appoynted the offices that shold bee therein, the maner of their [?] calling unto the offices, the workes wherin the officers are to bee employed, and their mayntenances in their offices ⁵ *All in this society wee hold to bee subject unto the lawes and institutions ⁶ of the word only in matters of religion, and also to bee at the commandement and under the correction of the civill ordenanc

Wee holde that neyther man nor angell is any wise to ad or detract any thing to chang or to alter any thing from that which the * Lord hath sett down in his word touching these poyntes

in such sort as the word of god doth loudly denounc a moste fearfull course agaynst all those that will not bee of this society and subject unto these holy ordenances or especially that dare presume to add any thing unto or to detract any thing from ⁷ these holy ordenances, or any wise chang ⁸ or alter them

Agayn ⁹ that yet hir right excellent maiestie and the state of the land in steade of these [*sic*] holy society the offices to bee heerin, and the maner of calling unto the offices, the workes for the most part wherin thes offices are employed and the mayntenances of the offices did establishe ¹⁰ the society offices maner of calling workes for the most part and mayntenances appoynted ¹¹ and devised in the church of Rome Taking I dobt not these offices callinges devised workes and mayntenanc for the offices workes and callinges of [*sic*, and] mayntenanc belonging unto the church of Christ

That hir maiestie and the state hath established ¹² the societeyes the offices ¹³ maner of callinges workes and mayntenances ¹⁴ invented and retayned in the church of Rome wee call hir lawes and especially your honours [] ¹⁵ ar especially seen therein to wittnes. Yea all the world know that their hath been no alteration at all in the office of the prieste, the deacon, the Archprelat or bishop, the Lord bishop the Archdeacon, the comissary the chancellour etc in the forme of calling very litle in the workes of book worship, excommunication, suspension, dispensation etc, not much, in the mayntenances nothing at all. [24 *right*] whenc it is that wee

¹ End of page Either a full stop, or 'in' and sentence unfinished

² 'Moses' crossed out before 'the', and sentence unfinished

³ 'of it briefly is this' cancelled

⁴ 'Wee affirme' cancelled

⁵ Between the two asterisks an irregular line appears in MS, probably accidental and not a cancellation

⁶ For 'unto the written word'

⁷ For 'therfrome'

⁸ 'them' cancelled

⁹ For 'Wee affirme'

¹⁰ For 'apoynt the'

¹¹ 'in the' cancelled

¹² For 'appoynted the society'

¹³ 'of the Romish' cancelled

¹⁴ 'of' cancelled.

¹⁵ Word undeciphered

dare not have any society or fellowship with the assemblies of the land althoughe wee differ from them in no poynt of the truth established because the Romane Antichrist and [not] Christ Jesus rayneth in them by the offices¹ and callenges which² hee hath instituted.

Now my³ Lordes you must⁴ not think these thinges to be small matters, but even of that very⁵ wayght and moment that the controversy which Corah⁶ Dathan and Abiram had with Moses us [*sic*] nay of far greater in asmuch as the only differenc⁷ between Corah and Moses was touching the offices, as the word expressly teacheth us, wheras wee controvert in the behalf of Christ Jesus with the prelates and priestes of the land not only in the matter of the offic but even of other three materiall and wayghty poyntes wherin wee charge them to cary⁸ the mark and the badg of the Romane Antichrist

Further Corah gaynsaid⁹ the offices and order appoynted by Moses the servantes [*sic*, servant] these prelates and priestes the offices and ordenances established by Christ the sone whoe as the apostle sayeth and your Lordship know to deserve¹⁰ more honour then Moses

And wee dare not my Lordes but speak one his behalf whatsoever come of our bodyes in this [life] wee dobt not but¹¹ both bodyes and soules wee shall live with hym for whose cause wee suffer these thinges one earth

If the Spaynheard or any other enemy of hir maiestie and your [honour] as god forbyd did appoynt what officers shold attend upon hir maiestie, being strangers unto hir, yea sworne servantes unto hir enemye, what servic they shold yeald unto hir, what mayntenanc¹²

wold you think it a tollerable case my Lord that your owne houses, especially hir maiesties court shold¹³ I not defend the right and the interest of my princ in this case to the loss of my lyf

Interrupted by fragment of letter to the Queen, 25 *left*, above, pp 52-3, and then continues.

[25 *left*]

¹⁴ I wold my Lordes and that agaynst your Lordshipes or any other of my superiours under her highnes¹⁵ Marvell not then that I and my brethren do the lyk in the behalf of the King of Kinges the Lord Jesus.

And I beseech your honours that you wold not be found fighters agaynst god, in opposing your selves agaynst us in this poynt Wee oppose [?] not¹⁶ our selves my Lordes agaynst the sacred power of the magistracy no not in the meanest officer under hir maiestie, much less in any of your places and authority. Wee are not

¹ For 'power of'

² 'which' duplicated, one cancelled

³ 'Now my' duplicated, the first, on a separate line, cancelled

⁴ For 'may'

⁵ For 'great'

⁶ For 'was between Corah'

⁷ For 'controversy'

⁸ For 'bear'

⁹ Possibly 'gaynstood'

¹⁰ For 'bee of greater'

¹¹ 'to save' cancelled

¹² 'shee' cancelled, sentence unfinished

¹³ beginning of word cancelled

¹⁴ This paragraph marked in margin by two parallel pencil lines

¹⁵ For 'hir nobility, counsell or judges of the land the magistrates of the same'

¹⁶ For 'are not'

agaynst the profession [?]¹ of the lawes, wee know the study to bee fitly [?] being rightly used,² though we protest our selves to bee³ eyes unto syn in all states. As to our hard entreaty by any of the civill state⁴ Nay wee know it to bee our duty to bear with the oversight of our princ of their honours, of you our revered judges and magistrates⁵ as wee wold bee to overpass and to forgett the severity shewed unto us by our parentes. Wee have by our manifold synnes agaynst our god deserved to bee thus delt, though in regard of our cause [?] towards men behold our inocency behold our integrity which wee are ready to approve befor all men yf wee may have but æquall hearing⁶ yet wee wold entreat them that their hand may bee []⁷ because the Lord is the avenger of wrong and oppression.

Wee see our contrey and contreyemen rune headlong unto destruction by meeting [?] under the power markes and badges of Antichrist in the poyntes befor mencioned. Wee doe not heale the syne of our people by saying peac peac wheir the Lord sayth their is no peace. Jerushalem smarted for this deceytfull dealing of hir prophett in uncovering [?] hir⁸ iniquity.

[25 *right*]

It is uncertain whether the next paragraph runs on consecutively. It is in a larger hand than the preceding page, which in itself gives reason to doubt whether it is not intrusive and written at some other time.

What hath befallen all those ages when the glory of god was lightly esteemed will also befall this age exept it bee prevented by the true⁹ repentanc and heer wee tak all creatures to wittnes that wee putt this age in mynd therof and wee testify in the behalfe of our god that the workes therof are in¹⁰ these poyntes following.

First in that the ordenances of god are of no value in the eyes therof

Secondly in that in¹¹ the [place] of the fountayn of living waters they digg broken fattes that will hold no water¹²

and Lastly, in that they are so farr from following those that will¹³

The hand now becomes smaller again in a number of detached paragraphs.

They are not meane or particular matters wherin I stand this day witnessing the truth¹⁴ unto small and great agaynst []¹⁵, but touching Christ []¹⁶ and power

You will tell us of law wee aunswer that lawe¹⁷ overseen is no law. hee that dealeth most powerfully shalbe in least¹⁸ danger and greatest estimation I dobt

¹ Word doubtful, edge of page—possibly 'pursuit'

² Sentence written between lines, very small

³ The last five words duplicated

⁴ This unfinished sentence written in

⁵ 'no otherwise then as wee are wold [?] wont] to' cancelled

⁶ For 'æquity and justic'

⁷ Undeciphered word

⁸ For 'their'

⁹ Word after 'true' cancelled, maybe also the 'the' before it

¹⁰ 'persecuting us poor inocentes' cancelled

¹¹ For 'th[e]'

¹² vats or cisterns The reference is to Jer 11 13

¹³ Sentence breaks down

¹⁴ 'truth' duplicated

¹⁵ Word missing in MS

¹⁶ Uncertain word, may be intended for 'might' or 'right'

¹⁷ 'is' cancelled.

¹⁸ Word crossed out.

10. Parts of two petitions.

Perhaps separate sentences, and not consecutive Most of them are found in one or other of the letters

[36 *right*; neat hand]

many great men have allwayes opposed them selves agaynst the truth but they have come unto shamfull ruin

Wee¹ doe not heale the hurt of our contrey with sweet wordes saying peace peace Jerushalem found the smart of this dealing

Yt is no new thing to see the servantes of god² bold in controlling states when they direct not them selves according unto the word Wee must do it least the Lord shold destroy us wee must bee heard or els the Lord will destroy them that refuse to heare.

I trust that you know not what you do in this cause.

You shold my Lord ask for the old way and walk therin, and not deale hardly with us for³

⁴ I think it no small blessinge right honorable that I hav any access unto your Lordshipes, because wee will bring the controversy unto a matter of fact which your Lordshipes can easely decid

You might justly think much my Lord that eyther wee or any other shold use your Lordshipes any otherwise then it beseemeth your highe places and callinges; but our god in regard of the messag comitted unto us may as justly and will call you to a reckoning for the injury shewed unto us his poor⁵

Wee fight agaynst Antichrist and for Christ Jesus your course is⁶

I protest unto you I seek the overthrow of the prelacy so would you my Lordes yf you saw the judgements of god I meane [?] to do so and marvell not it is in the behalf of my master the Lord Jesus whome no power can withstand⁷ I dare not but testify the thinges that I have seen and heard my princ commandeth mee to mayntayn her interest and right all hir subjectes yea hir counsell conspire agaynst her.

Wee reverence you my Lordes, it is one thinge to reverenc and another thinge to yeald in the message of our master

⁸ I protest unto you my Lordes that it greveth mee to think that⁹ your Lordshipes being¹⁰ in this lyf justly reckoned among the wise shold have your names written among the foolish at your deathes.

What hope of justic can I have at your Lordshipes handes seing so many of my poor brethren¹¹

¹ Margin 'Jir 6 14'

² 'of go[d]' repeated and cancelled

³ Sentence breaks down

⁴ Two parallel pencil lines in margin opposite this paragraph

⁵ Sentence breaks down

⁶ Sentence unfinished

⁷ The nature of Penry's hand is suggested by the fact that the first reading of this word was 'defend' It looks like 'defend', and only increased acquaintance with the script justifies 'withstand'

⁸ The next two paragraphs marked by parallel pencil lines in margin

⁹ For 'of'

¹⁰ Two words cancelled

¹¹ Sentence does not end.

Think it not much that I deale playnlye with you being the professed servantes of the same god [end, 36 *right*]

[37 *left*, neat hand, evidently a continuation, of which item it is not clear] with mee, then I would do with papistes heathen

Will you grant mee thus as a ground in your law

Will my lif to hir maiestie their honours eyther of hir counsell or of hir judges will it do will it bee a service unto god to putt mee to death.

Then my Lordes I ame ready to do the [*sic*] that by my death which I never could perswad them to bee [?] my mynd towards them in my lyf

You shold not my Lordes put any man to death exept it [*sic*] that you may see the Lord served therby

The cry of the bloud of the sayntes my Lordes is a fyre that consumeth unto the grave

Oh the blessing of procuring favour unto the church

Wee ar not agaynst magistrates my Lord [or] agaynst the profession of the law thoughe wee protest our selves to bee enemyes unto syne in all

Nay wee know it our duty to bear with the oversight of our Princ of their honours of our reverend judges and magistrates no otherwise then wee wold doe the equity [?] ¹ of our parentes First wee hold the caus to bee our godes. You will punish us for our ² oversight in the caus, and keep us in prison for the cause wheras ³ the cause being evell you should not lett us lye for the same but punish us for it.

I do not see that eyther you or ⁴ will grant mee lawe for yf you will not call the ⁵

Wee reverenc our princ and contrey nay their injury shewed unto us shall not mak us so much as to concev an undutifull thought towards them thoughe the more wee lov the more wee esteem and reverence the less wee ar loved

You are wise, yet I may talk with you of judgment.

II. Draft of letter to the earl of Essex.

Addressee mentioned within No date, but within two months of Penry's execution
Loose hand

The order of the pages is not easy to determine, the problem being made more difficult by the fact that the ink has faded and that 6 *left*, which is very crowded, has the margin packed from end to end with an addition, perhaps written a little later with better ink The order of the first pages, 6 *left*, 7 *left*, 6 *right*, is conjectural, thence the order is clear

On 72 *right reversed* (the last page of the notebook) is a draft of paragraphs incorporated in the letter On 13 *right* is the beginning of a draft of this or another petition, which is so much like the present letter that it is classified with the Essex material, and a similar fragment from 1 *left* is included

[6 *left*]

As I do not most ⁶ right honorable and my very good [Lord] in the testimony which the Æternall my god hath committed unto my handes regard eyther the

¹ A dot suggests 'iniquity', but neither 'equity' nor 'iniquity' seems to give the sense

² For 'the'.

³ Or 'whenas'

⁴ Something omitted

⁵ Sentence unfinished.

⁶ May possibly be 'right' repeated

fear or favour of any flesh, so I ame altogether farr frome caring [*sic*, carrying] an undutifull or yet a negligent ¹ carlesse ey towards the estate of hir dread ² maestie my soveraign, and your honours in particular.

And therfor I do presume the more boldly to come unto you first in the behalf of the Lord and [?] ³ his poor church, in the cause of inocentes and the oppressed which you are bound to heer, and lastly in a cause ⁴ and lastly in a servic tending so directly unto the honour of hir maestie, and your owne speciaall behoof; as I offer upon the perill of my lyf to cloth you with the victory ⁵ and spoyle of that conquest, which no man befor you hath atchieved nor shall afterward attempt yf you bee not wanting unto the Lord, his church hir maestie and your owne æstimation in this poynt.

The cause standeth thus briefly.

Here two lines are written in, very small and difficult to decipher. They interrupt the text, nor do they seem to be continued in the four lines plus written along the margin. They read: 'The interest and honour of Christ Jesus in the regiment of his owne house is to bee reaceved and shall I doubt not for who shall withstand him and prosper.'

The margin reads: 'in such sort as I desier no owtward thing other then that it may please the Lord to vouchaf mee and others my brethren who now are chief [chosen ?] wittnesses agaynst Babel the favour that his cause in our handes may have hir majesty gracious acceptation therof as far as it carieth with it the warrant of the word and may bee highly profitable unto the outward estate of hir maestie and no otherwise.'

The text resumes.

Babelon the Land of graven images, and furnace of Idolatry, is to be made and shalbee mad a pertuall [*sic*] desolation in such sort as hir memory shalbe quit[e] forgotten amongst men. Because this is the determinate sentenc that the Lord of hoastes hath pronounced agaynst that furnace of Idolatry, and who shall disanul ⁶ Shee is to bee overthrowen I say in this land, and that I trust by us, that is by my brethren and [*sic*] which now in sacloth do fight agaynst hir by the word of our testimony.

Whosoever they are that stand in hir behalf or in hir defenc, they stand agaynst the glory of the god of Israell, and so shall not stand [but come] ⁷ [7 left] to a speedy and a fearfull ruine.

She is yet quiet [?] in the land in the offices of Archbishops and BB Deanes Archdeacons Commissaries Canones Prebendes Parsones Vicares. All which offices hir maestie is bound to see abolished. Unto these offices or callings their belongeth an infinit mass of wealth even the very greenes [greenness] of the land, which ⁸ these locustes now unprofitable devour, and therby ar made fatt and strong to warr agaynst Jesus Christ and his church.

The locustes themselves being in ⁹ regard of their offices (for as to the mens

¹ 'negligent' may be cancelled.

² Faint, looks like 'dear', but this is unlikely

³ Ampersand doubtful

⁴ Probably Penry intended to cancel 'and cause'.

⁵ For 'honour'

⁶ Line cancelled 'shee is sure to bec [?] [?]'.

⁷ Last word or words on page difficult, which, combined with the fact that the first words on 6 right have faded, makes order of pages awkward to determine

⁸ 'hir maestie' cancelled

⁹ for 'by the'

persones I wish all good unto them in the Lord) ¹ being by a mighty east wynd of hir maiesties juste lawes cast into the sea and their drowned for ever more, hir maiestie is to dispose ²

hir maiesties [*sic*] bound to establish the true order of god among hir subjectes ³,

hir maiestie is bound to establish the true mynistry and worship of god in hir landes and that according unto the rule and to see the same and none other obeyed and practised within hir territoryes and dominiones

shee is bound to see that nothing be adjoynd therunto eyther in regard of office, calling, mayntenanc, place of meeting or meanes of meeting, as churches belles etc. which have been invented by the Romane Antichrist, for the worship of diuel [?] ⁴ in the cage of his Idolatrous subjectes.

[6 *right*]

[] ⁵ which the servantes of god have agaynst Babell shall prevayl, and they shall see hir utter ruine because it is the vengeanc of god and of his people that is executud agaynst hir and mighty is the Lord which condemneth Shee striveth I grant but dastardly and fearfully, and hir strong men ar amased and shee hath yealded hir hand in such sort, as yf synne and iniquity can [?] bear hir out shee is cleane gone.

Space of half-an-inch in notebook

Yf our cause were more fully [?] heard and more duly considered wee doubt not but to overcom. men know not what wee hold and therfor they are heardly drawn to consider of the æquity of the Lordes cause in our handes

Yf it bee sayd that wee are few in nomber, our aunswer is that they have strength enough, and more than e[nough] who have the Lord one their syde, yf they say that wee are unlerned and of meane guiftes, wee are the sooner overthrowen, wee fight by no other weapon then by the word of our testimonyes, and wee doe not complayn.

Space of an inch in notebook

I judge you to bee one right honorable who wold bee loath to have hir maiesties government and honour stayned with inocent bloud. my bloud is sought for. I ame guiltless I ame inocent yt will not prevayle Access I [have] not unto hir maiestie myself by reason of the injury of myne adversaryes and the meanes [mean-ness] ⁶ of my person. I purpos fully [?] to comitt my lyf unto hir hand, that yf I bee taken away it may bee by hir meanes, yf my bloud bee spilt shee shall not bee able to plead ignoranc in the day of the Lord. Yt shall not so [7 *right*] com unto hir handes but first, I mak knownen that eyther ⁷ you are to discharge your conscience in it consider it my Lord for hee spilleth blood that hindereth not the same to bee shed, when it lyeth in his poor [*sic*, power] to save. You are in favour with hir maiestie, ⁸ you are bound unto hir by oth as I take [it] especially by your

¹ 'caryed' cancelled, 'being' may also be cancelled

² Sentence unfinished.

³ Two words on separate line cancelled, perhaps 'These beinge' or 'These livinge'.

⁴ Edge of page

⁵ One word, and maybe more, faded and unreadable

⁶ For 'violenc'

⁷ The alternative does not appear

⁸ Marked by short parallels in margin

high place not to see hir ¹ crowne stayned with blood I do therfor heer mak my cause knownen unto your honour, beseeching you to acquaynt hir maiestie with my just suit, which is that wheras the hatred of the prelates have now these full six yeaes bereved mee [of] all publick liberty within hir maiesties dominiones driven mee unto a strange [land] ² pursued mee thence and now upon returne agayne unto my contrey doth not [] ³ but grow more thersty of my blood, my petition is that I may bee called but unto civill triall ⁴ according unto the lawes established, and yf I bee convict to bee an evell doer I desier not to live, but yf I bee inocent I crave but favour My only troble is and hath been for the controversyes in relligion The very conscienc which I had to do good in my contrey by calling them ⁵ enforced mee to deal in the Lordes behalf as farr as I then saw, now seeing some thing farther I ame briefly to lay it open unto you. The causes of differenc between mee and them are these.⁶

I offer upon the perill of my blood not only to mak good what I affirme, but to convinc all adversarieses yf I may have but æquall triall

Although nothing but myne owne estate enforced mee to write [?] unto your Lord yet I trust that you wold with pacienc consider ⁷ vouchaf to consider of my writings unto you. But seeing also this brief thing [?] concerneth your honour in a very [8 right] neer sort, I trust that my reasons which I express now being duly wayed I shall not bee judged to bee over importunate, over ⁸ presumptuous

Coming unto your honour right honorable in the cause of God The matter is touching the erecting of gods honour, and the overthrow of all those thinges which in relligion do withstand the same within hir maiestie[s] dominiones

A cause beseeching your honour[s] favour with your princ, and your æstimation among hir subjectes and every [way] tending ⁹ to hir maiestie[s] æternall good, both in this lyf and in the day of the Lord Jesus That it may bee then for your honour to be an instrument therof under hir maiestie you may easily ¹⁰

The particular heades wherof I will heer briefly sett downe being ready with others of my brethren to parowe¹¹ my lyf that¹² in this whole work nothing is desired ¹³ but what the god of heaven comandeth to bee yealded unto, what the lawes of this land do allow, and require, and wold [be] for the speciaall good of hir maiesties crowne and the behoof of all those who shalbe employed in the work

Touching the erecting of gods honour,¹⁴ I affirme and wilbe ready to prove agaynst all gaysayers whatsoever that hir maiestie is bound both by the word of god and also by the positive lawes of hir [land] rightly understood to establish

¹ For 'your' ² Much written in hereabouts The strange land is Scotland

³ Undeciphered, edge of paper, begins 'ste'

⁴ 'eyther' crossed out

⁵ Probably something missing, preaching in Wales is what he means

⁶ They do not appear in this place, where there is an inch gap in the text But see pp. 63-4

⁷ This first 'consider' probably cancelled

⁸ Possibly 'or'.

⁹ First letters difficult, the word may be 'adding'

¹⁰ 'easily' is written in, and another word, or the beginning of one, follows

¹¹ Is 'parowe' ever found as equal to 'parole'? The word may be 'pawne'.

¹² 'wee being' cancelled

¹³ 'atte[mpted]' begun and cancelled.

¹⁴ Margin. 'I sett but downe how commodious this wold bee how acceptable to hir subjectes how greatly to gods glory'

among hir subjectes the true outward worship of god consisting in the offices, callinges, mayntenanc, of pastours, teachers, elders and deacons, and the faythfull¹ execution of the workes wherin they are to bee employed, and to see²

That shee is bound to see that nothinge be adjoynd unto this true order of the church of Christ, and the work which is to bee done for the building up therof³ eyther in regard of office calling mayntenanc place and meanes of meeting as churches belles which have been invented by the Romane Antichrist [8 left] And therfor that hir maestie is bound to Abolish out of hir kingdomes the offices of Archbishops⁴ priests deanes Canones Prebendes Parsones Vicares Archdeans [sic] chancellours etc and to employ their livinges for the benefitt of hir crowne and the support [?] ⁵ of hir subjectes⁶ as followeth or as by counsell shee might bee farther directed

First as touching their gleabe land shee wholly and only is and must bee the right heyr therof except it bee of such portiones of the same⁷ as ither heyres of those that bestowed it can shewe that yt shold have been their patrimony had not seduced fathers been misled by these⁸ locustes that eate up the greenes [greenness] of all landes wher they wear permitted to feed

The interest that such heyres can have notwithstanding is grounded no otherwise then hir maestie by consulting with the word of the Lord shall fynd hir self in conscienc bound to grant unto them of the free liberality of hir roiall heart⁹

Next as¹⁰ to Tithes, they are also in hir maesties hand, yet so to bee disposed, as they are to bee restored agayn unto the subjectes every man is to hav his proper tythes¹¹ Reserving notwithstanding such a portion therof unto hir maestie[s] prerogative¹² hir maestie unto hir self, as shee may tak out of the same for the use¹³ of hir publick affayres, what may bee thought needfull for hir state, as in stead of tenthes to have the 40th, 30th, 20th [9 right] or 15th part of hir subjectes goodes returned yearly unto hir treasures, wheras now the tenth part is devoured by the priesthood and prelacy of the kingdom of Antichrist and such as depend upon them

Lastly touching the churches Cathedraill and otherwise of the land hir maestie is bound utterly to destroy them, that all memory of the Apostaticall romish religion may bee buryed as the prophet sayeth¹⁴ in the valley of Hamon Gog, and that the land may bee censed from these dead bones of Gog that would¹⁵ otherwise ly

¹ For 'workes'

² Sentence breaks down

³ 'that was invented' crossed out

⁴ 'A' cancelled

⁵ 'crowne and subjectes' first written, and the rest written in Queried word almost certainly 'support'.

⁶ 'even as by counsell' cancelled

⁷ For 'therof'

⁸ For 'their'

⁹ Margin 'To the mayntenanc of fals worship and fals offices as now it is ought it [sic, it ought] not to bee employed To the mayntenanc of the church of Christ it ought not to bee used, because hee hath appoynted another way for his mynistry to be mayntayned, and that it is derogatorious unto his honour, to have the allowanc of his enemy for his mynsters whenas hee hath otherwise apoynted the pric of a day hier of a whore and the reward of bloud for the most part which ought not to bee brought into the Lordes tabernacle'

¹⁰ 'as' duplicated, one cancelled

¹¹ 'and so this iron yok of bondag wherby the angell of the bottomles' cancelled.

¹² 'hir maestie[s] prerogative' written in above, an obvious afterthought

¹³ 'eyther' cancelled

¹⁴ Ezek xxxix 11-15

¹⁵ 'have so' written in above 'would'.

noysomly bee so contagiously ¹ scattered upon the mountaynes of Israell. In the removing [?] of which places for destroyed they must bee the stuff and matter being the creatures of god as the head stone etc are to bee reserved for hir maesties civill uses, yf it shall not bee found according unto the word, that they are utterly execrable.²

I have not purposed my Lord to bee long in any thing at this present. Only your Lordship is to understand this much that all this wealth of Babell wilbe spoyled ³ for shee must bee left naked. Becaus this is the sentence ⁴ that the Lord of Hostes hath decreed agaynst that land of graven imag[es] that shee shalbe utterly forgotten amongst men, and whoe is able to [9 left] disanull his decrees Agayn they are pronounced blessed and wilbe blessed for [evermore] that ⁵ shall with an heart to glorify the Lord undertak this work, for done it shalbe because shee hath been proud agaynst the Lord of Hoaste[s] and it is the vengeanc of the Lord and the vengeanc of his people it [sic, that] is to light upon hir.

⁶ for my self and my brethren whoe now in sackcloth and in meaner [?] state of banishment emprisonment etc ⁷ do bear wittnes agaynst the ⁸ remnant of his abominations,⁹ wee will never leave hir ¹⁰ as long as shee hath eyther branch or root. And wee trust by the power of our god to make hir a perpetuall desolation, that shall not ¹¹ bee inhabited from generation unto generation, yea thoughe after wee have added our testimony agaynst [hir] wee shold have but the entertaynment fortold by the spirit of our god, that is thoughe the beast that cometh out of the bottomless pitt shold stay us, yet wee dobt but our god will so prepare hir ruine by our endeavours as ¹² the marchantes that now are mad[e] rich by hir shall in the next age cast dust upon their heades, cry weeping and wayling and say, alas alas that great citty wherin by hir preciousnes all wear mad[e] rich that had shipes upon the sea,¹³ because in one hour is shee made desolate ¹⁴

And therfor my Lord seing the Lord requireth these hir mighty boughes in this land to bee overthrowen, [10 right] seing hee hath undobtedly determyned, that ¹⁵ they shall not stand, seing the work of removing them hath the blessing of the god of heaven annexed unto it, together with an infinit mass of worldly treasures wherwith now the harlott ¹⁶ is clad, and maketh hir self strong to warr agaynst the

¹ 'bee so contagiously' written in

² Two marginal notes, the first written along the margin 'wee draw you unto that cause which wee know justifiablie [sic]', 'the erecting [possibly 'eecting'] of the former [?] Your HH wisheth [?]' Also at this point seven lines scored out

'Now my Lord, lett it not be thought strang unto your Honour, that I shold move you in this to bee an instrument to stir [?] up hir maestie in this work For First it is agaynst Babell that this whole plutt [sic] is layed, whoe must bee overthrowen

Now my Lord that all these thinges ought to bee done I offer befor your honour, eyther'

³ 'and that' cancelled

⁴ For word crossed out, perhaps 'case'

⁵ For 'yf'

⁶ 'Now' cancelled

⁷ 'wee will never' cancelled

⁸ fragment cancelled

⁹ For 'off offering'

¹⁰ 'untill wee have made hir a perpetuall desolation' cancelled

¹¹ For 'never'

¹² 'the next age shall' cancelled Margin: 'Re 18 19'

¹³ 'how' cancelled.

¹⁴ 'made desolate' duplicated, one cancelled.

¹⁵ 'shee shalbe made a' cancelled.

¹⁶ For 'whore'.

Lamb and his soldiers, whie shold not ¹ Queen Elizabeth, and that by meanes of a ² second Earle of Essex accomplish this work? Doth not the Lord require it at hir handes, as straightly as at the handes of any that shall come after hir, is shee not as lykly to performe the work as they shalbe, is not a Devrex as meet to effect ³ the action ⁴ by hir authority as a crumwell was under hir fathers now to do the lyk. Canot shee tell how to employ these thinges as well as hir successor. Will it not bee as honorable for hir amongst posterityes, as for hir successor And canot the earle of Essex? ⁵

Well my Lord considering the favour which you are judged to have with your princ, and the great æstimation wherin you stand in the eyes of all hir subjectes, bereave not your self of ⁶ the honour of so excellent ⁷ a servic tending so directly to the glory of god the good of his Church, the ⁸ wealth of hir maiesties state and your owne particular. ⁹ You shall not have the lyk favour in court allwayes. Use your opportunity then. And yf I might bee bold with you I wold wish in defalt of your endeavours this way, that your father wear earle of Essex as yet, being in that favour and æstimation with princ and people [10 left] that now his son is in. For then I dobt not but by this servic, hee wold mak you an heyr of ¹⁰ a more glorious father and earldom in this poynt, then ever the sone is lykly to bee yf hee refuse to bee the Lordes chosen man agaynst Babell and hir daughters. Wear it but the report of the ¹¹ these honorable partes which I hear to bee in you, meet for the man-aging of so high an action, that enduced [me] to lay ¹² this burden upon your sholders, I shold not bee to farr out of the way. And bear with mee good my Lord yf I bee overseen in taking you for the meetest man of all ¹³ the nobility and counsell of England for this work. The falt shalbe yours and not myne yf I have taken my mark amiss For this I dare assure you, that I move [you] not only unto a work, that is of that quality which befor I have sett downe, but also unto a servic which in the maner therof shalbe accomplished with ¹⁴ that quietnes of hir maiesties estate as in the whole alteratione ¹⁵ his state and crowne shalbe found in ¹⁶ no less quietnes [and] safety that the Israellites weer in the land of Goshen when the destroying Angell slew the first borne in the land of Egypt ¹⁷

For wheras the last ¹⁸ question wilbe who all being overthrow[n] officers, livinges,

¹ Two parallel pencil lines in margin.

² For 'the'.

³ For 'accomplish'

⁴ For 'work', 'and' cancelled after 'action'

⁵ This line written in The interrogation mark is uncertain, and the sentence may be unfinished

⁶ 'so blessed' cancelled

⁷ Two ampersands cancelled.

⁸ For 'hir maiesties crowne'

⁹ Those who marked this sentence with parallel pencil lines in the margin little realized how prophetic it was

¹⁰ 'greater' cancelled

¹¹ 'managing of' crossed out, 'the' left standing

¹² For 'putt the'.

¹³ Cancellations show that 'hir nobility' first intended

¹⁴ 'With' and 'by' both written

¹⁵ Several lines cancelled. 'for it shalbe found that hir maiestie shall have the heartes of all hir subjectes with hir as the heart of one man, those only exepted whose hartes are enflamed with the Romish marchandise'

¹⁶ 'in that safety' first written, then 'no less quietnes' written above

¹⁷ For 'went through the land of Egypt'.

¹⁸ Doubtful: may be 'best', 'base'.

churches, &c all¹ notwithstanding may bee kept in order lest a dangerous [11 *right*] Anarchie shold ensue heer I offer for my self and my brethren unto your Lordship to sett downe the way how all the people of [the] land shalbe brought² unto that peacable order, as the greatest pollitick under heaven shall not [be] able to object that, which by the word of god wee will not bee able to satisfy, for the cutting off of all inconvenienc whatsoever For farbeit from mee my Lord that I shold move you to attempt that, which shall bring inconvenienc unto the peaceable estat of hir maesties crowne, seing the establishing of the truth and the Abolishing of corruptiones shalbe allwayes found to cary undobted stability with it.

Wherfor my Lord yf you go forward with the work I offer you the honour of preferring that³ unto hir maestie which shall bring all unto hir handes, and keep all hir subjectes in as good nay ten thousandfold a better order yf shee will but lend hir authority therunto then now they are in in respect even of peac and the contentation⁴ of hir subjectes

A further light in any of [*sic*, or] ⁵ all these poyntes I shalbe and ame ready to yeald unto your honour or to conferr with any at your honours appoyntment touching them, so that it bee in a peacable and an æquall maner of triall, eyther⁶ privat or publick as your Lordship shall think meete for, and that privatly yf it please you to grant⁷ mee safe access unto and egress from your honours presenc and in the meane tyme I wilbe⁸ at your honours appoyntment, so yt may bee safe for mee, to reason and confer in a peacable maner with any that are contrary mynded, and to convinc them by the Lordes assistanc to err whosoever they bee And although⁹ This one thing I wold [11 *left*] have you know that whether you will deale in it ore no I propose to move hir maestie and the parliament heerin,¹⁰ to the end that wee may discharg our duty towards our god our princ and our contrey But wee had rather that you shold privatly deale with hir maestie and move hir unto it and so you¹¹ yf you wold undertak the work shold use our weak labours¹² yf they may any wise further the work, as wee dobt but they may, exopt it shall please the Lord to rayse up fitter instrumentes both for lerning and yeares to tak the work out of our handes, which we wilbe ready to yeald

For wee wold bee glad that the Lord wold furnish [?] some others of greater giftes and credit then wee are, agaynst the¹³ remnant of this purfled harlott, but yet wee are content hee shall use [us] rather then none at all But lett hir bee assured that the mighty hunter will never leav the pursuing of hir untill shee bee taken in his net, and utterly destroyed.

For the cause of hir maesties poore oppressed subjectes, whoe are ready a thousand tymes to lay downe their neckes for hir, what shold I say unto your [honour], but that by these prelates and their associates wee are dayly numbred [?] unto the

¹ One 'all' cancelled

³ For 'kept'

⁵ For 'being acquaynted with that'

⁴ For 'contentedness'

⁶ 'in all' repeated after 'all'

⁶ 'eyther presenc' written in margin

⁷ For 'vouchaf'

⁸ For 'wold'

⁹ 'And' may be cancelled, 'although' is at corner of page, and 'This one thing I wold', written in below, is evidently intended to replace it

¹⁰ 'yet had wee rather that' cancelled

¹¹ For 'that', but sentence does not read

¹² 'joyn our small labours with your owne great o[nes]' first written.

¹³ May be 'this', 'people' cancelled after it.

slaughter as farr as lyeth in them, emprisoned to death, empoverished to the undoing of many a poor family. The wif removed from the husband the husband from the wif and thrust into most contagious prisons [12 *right*] nay both father and mother taken from their poor orphanes, and the mother giving suck riven from hir poor sucking child, (unnaturall []¹ and Norces¹) and clapt up without meat or mayntenanc in a cold and unwholsome prison in this cold season of a contagious winter²

12. Probable draft for incorporating in above letter to Essex.

[72 *right reversed*, neat hand, page very dirty]

That Babell should no more exalt hir self.

That shee might be rewarded as shee hath deserved

Though yf³ the Lord will not give you the favour, hee will fynd workmen but you shall loose the reward and honour of the servic

You may tak your opportunity

Babell my Lord shalbe overthrowen and that I trust by us, that is by mee and my brethren that have delt agaynst the remnant of hir whordome, wee desier that wee may have your ayd in it and wee dobt not but you shalbe sufficiently rewarded, I offer your Lordship of hir spoyle

Beareve your self of the opportunity now offered unto you and you shall evidently shew that you are not the man Yf it wear but the reput⁴ of those honourable parties [?] partes] meet for the managing of so highe a work that enduced⁵ mee to putt you in mynd of these⁶ thinges I⁷ wear not farr out of the way, and bear with mee good my Lord yf I be overseen⁸ in thinking you to bee the meetest man of all the nobbilyty and counsell of the Land for this work The falt shalbe held to bee yours and not myne yf I have taken my mark [?] amiss Your credit with hir maiestie, your æstimation with all hir subjectes, do promise⁹ you exept you bee untrue [?] unto your self the accepting of the greatest ser[vice]⁹ and outwardly most profitable, that any man hath attayned unto in this land.

Wee offer our servic first unto our god agaynst Babell, and next unto hir maiestie and the honour of bringing this to pass wee only¹⁰ commend unto you.

Wonder not my Lord that wee hate Babell unto the death even to the rooting of her memory from under heaven, that shee may never rise up agayn.

Downe [?] shee must because shee hath been proud agaynst the Lord, and happy are they¹¹ her thieffy¹² is not hir owne they are the good creatures of god and therfor are hir maiesties who undobtedly will by way of thankfullnes¹³

¹ Undeciphered word, looks like 'lakyles', which suggests lactation, 'Norces' I take to be 'Nurses'

² The item ends abruptly, a line being drawn across the page at this point

³ The 'yf' might be intended to replace the 'though'

⁵ Penry began to write 'enforced' and crossed it out

⁷ Page very dirty; smudge before 'I' may be ampersand

⁸ Edge of page, may be 'oversure'

¹⁰ Possibly 'early'

¹¹ Sentence collapses: no doubt Ps cxxxvii in mind

¹² 'Thieffy' is used by Shakespeare (and Browning) for the fruits of theft as well as its practice.

¹³ Sentence breaks down.

⁴ Or 'report'

⁶ For 'some'

⁹ Edge of page

Wee will never leav hir my Lord untill wee have endowed [?] Sion [?] with hir spoyle

If you be not the man the falt shalbe our owne.

I have as farr as the Lord thought meet to shew unto me discovered the whores filthynes []¹ I see more [?]

Oppression maketh a wise man mad.

Babels great men stand in their hold.

I cold speak of sum thinges from foreyn [?] cuntries but I will not at this tyme.

Wee desier that hir maiestie and you as hir especially [*sic*] instrumentes may not leave this to bee accheaved amongst posterityes

A second overthrow of Babell therein [?] is to bee expected, which will surely fall.

13. Beginning of draft of letter [to Essex ?].

[13 *right*; neat hand]

As I do not Right honorable and my very good Lord in [the] testimony which the æternall my god hath comitted unto my handes regard eyther the fear or favour of any flesh, but only the ey of my god yet² I desire no outward thing more then that it may³ please the Lord to encline mercy and favour in⁴ hir maiesties eyes and those honorable personages which are of⁵ hir nobility and counsell and yours in particular to consider of the cause wherin I and diverse others of my brethren do now stand⁶

unto a gracious and deserved [?] acceptation of that truth wherin I and divers others of my brethren do now stand.

For howsoever I have been by the envenomed malic of myne adversaries burdened [?] as a man that seek not the welth but the hurt of my princ and contrey being the crime long sync intended [?] agaynst the holy prophett of god, yet⁷

For my conscienc beareth mee wittnes and myne actiones shall testify when they are examined that I ame far from carying an undutifull or yet a careless ey towardses the estate of hir maiesties crowne⁸ and towardses the heaping⁹ of more honour both in this lyf and in that to come of all those whoe desier the honour¹⁰ of god and the good of this¹¹

What my hearty goodwill is towardses your honour in particular lett that which followeth bear wittnes¹²

¹ Short word undeciphered

³ p[lease] 'begun and crossed out

⁴ For 'unto'

⁶ 'stand' comes in middle of line, the next two lines seem to be an alternative, but there is no cancellation

⁷ From 'yet' in middle of line, a line is drawn to immediately after 'For' at beginning of next paragraph.

⁸ 'my soveraign, and the honour I will not say' cancelled, and a word, probably 'crowne', written in small. The preceding 'maiestie' is at the edge of the page, possibly 's' was added.

⁹ For 'augmenting'

¹¹ Sentence breaks down

² 'yet' written on 'so I'

⁵ For 'neer unto'

¹⁰ For 'good'

¹² Fragment ends here.

14. The same.

[1 left reversed, loose hand]

Yf complaynts¹ { for gods glory
 agaynst Idolatry and corruption may bee hird heer upon
 the earth wee at the []² and your honorable meeting then Assemblie³

As I do not R. honorable in the testimony⁴ which the Lord my god hath committed unto my handes regard eyther the fear or favour of any flesh, but only the eye of my god, who seeth my very secrett thoughtes; so I ame farr⁵ be it but I shold have all due regard unto all those set []⁶ a small æstimation of those whoe for their nobilitie so I []⁶ æstimation of all those callinges and persones whome hee hath sett over mee in him.

SECTION XII

FRAGMENTS OTHER THAN PERSONAL

[72 right]

At the head of this page are two lines in the neat hand, evidently notes jotted down, apparently with no connection with each other They read

The small testament published
 Remember Kentigernus Elvius.⁷

[1 left, loose hand]

Anno 150 Pius Pontifex Rogatu Praxidis⁸ eximiae sanctitatis vel potius superstitionis sacrae Pudentiae ejus sorori dedicavit.⁹

¹ Bracket as MS² Word undeciphered³ As MS, sentence collapses⁴ For 'messag of'.⁵ After 'farr' Penry wrote 'from', then crossed it out, and the sentence does not read⁶ Page here very dirty, and words cannot be read⁷ Probably when in Scotland Penry heard talk of the visit of Kentigern (518 ?-603) to North Wales, and learnt how he founded the monastery of Llan-elwy (afterwards St Asaph's)—Elwy is a river When Kentigern was summoned back to Scotland he appointed St Asaph as his successor in the monastery

But what is "The small testament published"? The first New Testament in Welsh, William Salesbury's, was published in 1567, but this can scarcely be meant, although Ballinger, *The Bible in Wales*, 18, does call it 'a small thick quarto of 426 leaves (852 pages)' The first Welsh Bible was published in 1588

⁸ Word crossed out.⁹ It looks as if Penry is commenting on these words in the *Liber Pontificalis* ('vel potius superstitionis sacrae' being his anti-Roman gloss), probably he omitted 'ecclesiam':

Illic [Pius] ex rogatu beate Praxedis dedicavit aecclesiam thermas Novati in vico Patricii, in honore Sororis suae sanctae Potentianae

See Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the first century*, 244-9 (a Note on 'The Pudens Legend'), where the words of Pastor, quoted in Migne, *Greek Fathers*, 11 (1857), are discussed. Praxidis and Pudentiana were daughters of Pudens, the church in whose house was erected into

SECTION XIII

LOGIC DEFINITIONS ¹

[14 *right*, written across, looser hand]

Logick is an art ² of Reasoning

Yt hath 2 partes invention and judgment

Invention is the first part of logick that giveth rules of the diverse sortes of reasones.

A reason is that which is apt to reason with otherwise called an argument.

Argumentes ³ are sometymes knowen by their proper markes.

a parish *titulus Pastoris*, Pastor being the reputed brother of Pius After the death of Pudens, his daughters obtained the consent of Pius to the building of a baptistery adjoining the church, the Bishop himself drew the plans and frequently visited the church The entry in *Migne*, 1024, reads as follows [Edmundson shows that the interpolation in brackets is based on a mistake] ⁸ *Eodem tempore virgo Domini Praxedis accepta potestate rogavit beatum Pium episcopum, ut thermas Novati, quae jam tunc in usu non erant, ecclesiam consecraret quia aedificium magnum in usdem et spatiosum esse videbatur Quod et placuit sancto Pro episcopo, thermasque Novati dedicavit ecclesiam, sub nomine beatae virginis Potentianae (in vico Patricius Dedicavit autem et aliam sub nomine sanctae virginis Praxedis) infra urbem Romam, in vico qui appellatur Lateranus, ubi constituit et titulum Romanum, in quo loco consecravit baptisterium sub die IV Idus Maii Post duos annos facta persecutio magna Christianorum et multi martyro coronati sunt Quo tempore virgo Domini Praxedis multos Christianos occultabat in praefato titulo, quos et cibo pascebat et Dei verbo Tunc divulgatum est Antonio imperatori, quod conventus fierent Christianorum in titulo Praxedis*

¹ It is not clear whether these are Penry's own definitions or copied from a book They do not appear in Thomas Wilson's *The Rule of Reason* or his *Arte of Rhetorique* or Ralph Lever's *The Art of Reason*, but they may be compared with a translation of Ramus published in London in 1574, 'Per M. Roll Makylmenæam Scotum, rogatu viri honestissimi, M. Ægidij Hamlini', under the title *The Logike of the Moste Excellent Philosopher P. Ramus Martyr* The first chapter, 'Of the definitions and diuisions of Dialecticke' reads -

Dialecticke otherwise called Logicke, is an arte which teachethe to dispute well

It is diuied into two Partes Inuention, and iudgement or disposition

Invention is the first parte of Dialecticke, whiche teachethe to inuente argumentes

An argumente is that which is naturally bent to proue or disproue any thing, suche as be single reasons separatly and by themselues considered

An argument is eyther artificial or without arte

Artificial is that, which of it self declare[th] and is eyther first, or hathe the beginning from the first

The first is that which hathe the beginning of itself and is eyther simple or compared [*sic*].

The simple is that, which symple and absolutele is considered and is eyther agreeable [*sic*] or disagreeable

Agreeable is that, which agreeethe with the thing that it prouethe. and is agreeable absolutly, or after a certaine fashion

Absolutly, as the cause and the effecte

This almost suggests that Penry copied some translation of Ramus or made one of his own. Cf the reference to Penry in *An Almond for a Parrat* (Mckerrow's edition of Nashe's *Works*, iii 365) 'Who then such an vnnatural enemye to *Aristotle*, or such a new-fangled friend vnto *Ramus* ?'

² Possibly 'act'

³ 'ar so' cancelled

Argumentes ar of 2 sortes { first
 { Arising of the first.

A first reason is which hath beginning in it self. and it is eyther simple or compound.

A simple reason is that which is considered absolutly without any respect of purpose [?].

And it is eyther agreeable or disagreeable

Agreeable is that argument ¹ which agreeth with that wherunto in reason it is referred

¹ For ' reason '

INDEX

- Allen, 39.
Almond for a Parrat, An, x, 96
 Arber, *Introductory sketch*, xiv
 Aubery, Wilham, vii
 Aylmer, John, 42, 46, 48

 Ballinger, John, 95
 Bancroft, Richard, x, xii, xviii, xx, 25
 Barrow, Henry, xv, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxv, 37, 39, 40, 44, 60
 Bath, 39
 Bell, H Idris, xxv, 3
 Billet, Arthur, xx, 37, 40
 —, Scipio, xxi, 37, 39
 Bonner, Bishop, xxii, 33, 34, 46
 Bowle, Robert, 37.
 Bowman, Christopher, xix
 Boys, Edward, xix
 Bradford (Wilts), xix, 39.
 Bridewell, 68.
 Browne, Robert, xxv, 27
 Brownism, 29, 37, 44 ff
 Burghley, Lord, xii, xv, xxi, xxii, xxiv, 40, 53 ff, 75, 77.
 Burrage, Champlin, vii ff, xix, xxiii, 37, 44, 46

 Calvin, John, 15
 Calvinism, 29
 Cambridge, ix
 Cecil, Sir Robert, xvi, 55, 58, 66, 70
 —, Thomas, 58
 Chaderton, Laurence, 39
 Chester, xix, 42
 Chorlton, 38
 Clapham, Henoch, 27
 Coke, Edward, vii
 Colligan, J H, 42
 Collins, A J, xxv
 Coonlyf, Mrs, 38
 Cosin, Richard, 38
 Counter (London), 39
 Cranmer, 75
 Cromwell, Thomas, 75

 Dalamore, John, 39.
 Deptford, xix
 Dewse, Mrs, 49
 Dexter, H M, xv
 Dickens, Christopher, 39
 Diocletian, 33, 34
 Domitian, 34

 Dounlee, Edward, xi
 Drew, Charles, xxv

 Edinburgh, xviii
 Edmundson, *The Church in Rome*, 95
 Edwardes, John, xix, 38
 Egerton, Sir Thomas, vii, 37
 Elizabeth, Queen, viii, xi, xiv, xxii ff, i, 25, 29, 42, 52 f, 55, 59, 61, 68, 73, 75, 82, 85, 91
 Ellesmere, Lord See Egerton, Sir Thomas
 Essex, earl of, xvi, xxii, 53, 66, 70, 85 ff

 Fanshawe, Thomas, vii, xxi
 Field, John, xiv

 Gardiner, Stephen, xxii, 33, 34
 Garrett, C. H, 42
 Godley, Eleanor See Penry, John
 Goodman, Christopher, xix, 38, 41 ff
 Greenwood, John, xviii, xix, xxi, 39, 40, 60.
 Grieve, A J, xxv.

 Harris, Robert, 38
 Harrison, John, *alias* of Penry, xx
 Hatton, Sir Christopher, 42
 Henry VIII, 75
 High commission, xvii, 55
 Hildersham, Arthur, xxi
 Horace, 78

 Inquisition, Spanish, xv, 33, 34
 Ishington, xix

 James I, xviii
 John 24 (*ie* XXIII), Pope, 76
 Johnson, Francis, xix, 39
 Jones, Jenkin, xx, 38, 39

 Kentigern, 95
 Keynsham, 39
 Knightley, Sir Richard, xiii
 Kniveton, George, xx
 Knox, John, 42

 Lee, Nicholas, xix, xxi, 37
 —, Mis, xx, 39, 79
 —, Sidney, xvii.
 —, Thomas, 37
 Leicester, earl of, xiv.
 Lloyd, Sir John, xxv, 35
 Lyly, John, xiv

- McKerrow, R B, xiv, 96.
 Manchester, xviii
 Marprelate, Martin, viii, ix, xiii ff, 38, 62 ff,
 69 ff, 75
 Mary, Queen, 46, 47, 48
 Maximian, 46
 Micklebound, Miles, 44

 Nashc, Thomas, xiv, xv, 96
 Nero, 46
 Newbury, xix, 38
 Newgate, xx, 39
 Northampton, xiii, xviii
 Norwich, 59

 Oxford, x

 Parte of a Register, xiv
 Pastor, 95
 Pearson, A F Scott, 42
 Peel, A, xii, xiv, xx
 Penry, Deliverance (daughter), xx, 39
 —, Eleanor (wife), x, xiii, xx, 15, 37, 65, 79
 —, John, family of, 15, 35
 — —, works of, *passim*
 Perne, Andrew, ix, 64, 71
 Phelippes, Thomas, xxii
 Pierce, William, viii, 44, 64
 Pius Pontifex, 95
 Powicke, F J, 44, 45
 Praxidis, 95
 Puckering, Lord keeper, x, 54
 Pudens, 95
 Pudentiana, 95

 Ramus, 96
 Read, Conyers, vii
 Rippon, Roger, xix, xx, 39, 60
 Rochelle, xviii

 Salesbury, William, 95
 Salisbury, 59
 Scotland, vii, x, xviii, xxiv, 42, 95.
 Sharpe, Henry, xiv, xvi
 Sigismund, 76
 Smith, William, xix, 39
 Some, Robert, xv, xvi
 Stanhop[e], Edward, 46, 48
 Story, John, 33, 46
 Studley, Daniel, xxi, 37, 44
 Sumner, William, 39
 Sutcliffe, Matthew, xiii, xv
 Swift, Jonathan, xiv

 Throckmorton, Job, xii, xiv ff, 62 ff, 70, 76
 Tindal, 75
 Topcliffe, Richard, 49
 Trajan, 46

 Udall, John, x, xiii, xiv

 Waddington, John, viii
 Waldegrave, Robert, xiii, xviii
 Wales, ix, x, xi, xiii, xvii, 24, 88, 95
 Watkins, Mrs, 38
 West, Lady, 38
 Weston, Hugh, 46
 Whitgift, John, xii ff, xxii, 64, 71
 Wilkins, Thomas, 38, 39
 Williams, Sir Roger, xiv ff
 Wilson, J Dover, vii, xiv ff, xxi

 Young, Richard, vii, xx, 37 ff, 46, 48, 49 ff,
 55, 67, 68, 69

 Zwinglianism, 29